AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

STUDY OF HISTORY:

Wherein is considered the

PROPER METHOD OF READING

HISTORICAL WORKS,

In order to acquire a

PERFECT KNOWLEDGE OF MANKIND;

With a View to

Improve the JUDGMENT, and correct the various Errors arising from PASSION and PREJUDICE.

Exemplified in the Characters of

SEVERAL ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES

Recorded in the

ANNALS OF ANTIQUITY.

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PREFACE.

IT may not perhaps be a matter wholly unworthy our attention, to enquire into the cauſe, why looſe Novels and Romances are ſo much preferred, by the youth of both ſexes, to the more important Study of Hiſtory.

The eſteem and veneration, in which ſucceeding ages have held the fabulous writings of the ancients, have ariſen only from the love of virtue, the probity of manners, and the integrity of heart, with which they inſpired their readers. The reputation of this ſpecies of writing, perhaps, firſt gave riſe to Novels and Romances, in which, though they neither make ſtones ſpeak, or ſtatues walk, they frequently repreſent characters as widely different from nature as light is from darkneſs.

The Study of Hiſtory requires ſome thought and attention, whereas the peruſal of

Novels and Romances claims not the leaſt of either: the end of the one is to improve the Underſtanding, and correct the various Paſſions of the human Soul; that of the other only to amuſe; and happy would it be, if it centered merely in amuſement. I am not here cenſuring thoſe works of Fancy, which, while they have done honour to their writers, have afforded the moſt innocent amuſement, and proved the moſt candid monitors to ſuch as could not eaſily be perſuaded to the peruſal of works, that demanded much conſideration: I am complaining of thoſe Novels only, which have no other recommendation, than the deſcription of lewd ſcenes and pictures of obſcenity.

The more extravagant, abſurd, and ridiculous a Novel is, the greater is the probability of its ſucceſs. To keep the attention of their readers awake, the piece muſt be full of buſineſs; that is, properly ſpeaking, the Hero muſt be, one moment, the happieſt of all ſublunary mortals, and, in the next, either wrecked on ſome uninhabitable coaſt—ſuſpended on a rock, far diſtant from land, and every inſtant expecting to be waſhed from thence by the furious and unrelenting billows of the ocean—fighting his way through

through an army of enemies, and laying hundreds dead at his feet—or ruſhing into the midſt of ſuch dangers, as require nothing leſs than a miracle to preſerve him from immediate deſtruction. Happily, however, thoſe, who form calamities that never exiſted, can eaſily work miracles to relieve them.

As Love is the foundation, ſo is it the ſuperſtructure of moſt Novels. But what is that ſpecies of love, which is there generally taught?—Not that tender ſympathy of two mutual hearts, whoſe love is founded on reaſon, prudence, and virtue; but a blind, violent, and impetuous paſſion, which hurries its unhappy victim into endleſs woes; teaches children diſobedience to their parents, inſpires them with ſelf-ſufficiency, and encourages them to commence Knight-Errants at an age, in which the rod ought to be applied to bring them to their ſenſes.

It is not, however, at all wonderful, that the youth of either ſex, who have not been taught better, ſhould prefer a ridiculous Romance to the moſt important piece of Hiſtory, ſince the former tends to encourage them in their extravagant ſallies, and the latter to correct them.

Though the youthful mind is ſooner capable of reflection than we are generally apt to imagine, yet the natural levity of our early years, when left to ourſelves, too often turns that reflection into a wrong channel, from which it is difficult, frequently impoſſible, when grown up to entice it: and hence it is, perhaps, we may account for the miſconduct of ſome people, who, in the laſt ſtage of their lives, even then act in conformity to the ideas they imbibed in their early days from Novels and Romances.

Were this claſs of readers to ſtumble on the Hiſtory of the *Gracchi*, or on the lives of ſome other remarkable *Romans*, they would throw them aſide, as dull, heavy and inſignificant ſubjects, and would not give themſelves a moment's leiſure to reflect on the many uſeful leſſons they might there find: while the more enlightened youth will peruſe with advantage the direful effects of unbounded ambition, avarice and revenge: he will there ſee how vain is the parade of human grandeur, when founded on the baſis of tyranny, injuſtice and oppreſſion; and, if he is not too young to make moral reflections, he will perhaps conclude, that the longeſt life of real affluence, and peace and happineſs

happineſs *only* in appearance, is not worth purchaſing at the price of infamy. While he obſerves the thirſt of power and ambition in the great men of former ages, he will not fail to remark the levity and inſtability of the lower claſs of people, who have ſhewn themſelves as changeable and inconſtant as the wind.

Theſe and ſuch like reflections will naturally ariſe to youthful readers from the Study of Hiſtory, which can never be expected from the peruſal of Novels, ſince they well know, at the time they read them, that all the amazing incidents they contain are the mere flights of fancy, and not, like Hiſtory, founded on nature and facts.

Let us then endeavour to encourage youth in the purſuit of wiſdom and truth; let us try, if we cannot perſuade them from the peruſal of ſuch books, as tend rather to encreaſe than conquer their paſſions; and let us repete the experiment, how far the Study of Hiſtory will anſwer that end.

If the following pages ſhould meet with a favourable reception, and be conſidered as conducive to what I have been now recommending, I ſhall with pleaſure reſign the credit of them to the late M. L'Abbe de Saint Real, from whom I have collected the

the greater part of the ſentiments they contain: Indeed, almoſt the whole of them may be conſidered as little more than a *very free* tranſlation of part of the hiſtorical writings of that author.

The firſt ſix chapters are intended to point out the uſe and end of Hiſtory, and the reflections, which ought to be made on the various characters there met with, in order to diſcover the true ſentiments of the heart, and thereby acquire a certain knowledge of Mankind.

The remaining chapters are given as examples, or authorities, to ſupport what is advanced in the ſix firſt. Theſe laſt contain the lives and characters of ſome illuſtrious perſonages, as recorded in the annals of antiquity, which, having received the univerſal credit of ſucceeding ages, we may venture to conſider as indubitable facts.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

On the Method of ſtudying and teaching Hiſtory.

IT is an inconteſtible truth, that little knowledge or advantage is to be derived from hiſtory, when ſtudied in the manner, in which it now generally is by young people: without a clew to guide them, they wander incautiouſly through the paths of ſcience, till they find themſelves bewildered in the maze of error and uncertainty. On the other hand, when the

literary traveller is taught to proceed with precaution, to examine nicely the various tracks he purſues, and to contemplate properly the objects that ſurround him, it is a chance, if he does not at laſt reach the pleaſing ſummit of juſt credit and applauſe.

Young people generally burthen their memories with a great number of dates, names, and events; and provided they can but repeat what they have heard or read, they are generally eſteemed for their knowledge. A young man, who finds himſelf applauded on ſuch occaſions, is not a little proud of his abilities. As it cannot be expected, that young people ſhould judge of things, like thoſe whom age and experience have taught wiſdom, it is not at all ſurprizing if they ſhould conceive a great opinion of themſelves, when they ſee that nothing more is expected from them, and that thoſe, on whom they depend, praiſe them on every occaſion, for the facility with which they ſpeak, and the readineſs with which they repeat thoſe things they have been obliged to remember.

The true purpoſe of hiſtory, however, conſiſts not in the remembrance of a number of events and actions, without making proper reflections thereon. This kind of knowledge, which has memory only for its ſupport, merits not the leaſt ſpark of applauſe; for knowledge conſiſts in tracing actions to their ſource. To read hiſtory properly, is to enquire into the characters

racters of thoſe we there meet with, and to judge of them wiſely and cautiouſly: to ſtudy hiſtory is to ſtudy the deſigns, the prejudices, and the paſſions of mankind; to diſcover all the ſecret ſprings of their actions, their arts and fallacies, and all the illuſions they put in practice to deceive and enſnare the unguarded heart.

Young people ſhould be early, and as it were inſenſibly, taught to reflect naturally, and without art, upon every thing which they meet with remarkable in the hiſtories they read. Thus they will become men, not parrots, by which laſt name we may juſtly call thoſe, who read only for ſubjects to exerciſe their memories.

It is an idle argument, that young people are incapable of reflection: they cannot too ſoon be treated like men; for they are capable of reaſoning almoſt as ſoon as they are capable of ſpeaking. This opinion of the incapacity of young people for reaſoning, is a kind of excuſe formed rather for ignorant tutors than their pupils; becauſe theſe teachers know not how to ſet about the arduous taſk of teaching their ſcholars to reaſon upon things, they are intereſted in ſaying it is impoſſible: they know not how to teach them to ſearch into themſelves, and diſcover the treaſures of light and wiſdom, which Nature has there concealed: they turn this wonderful art into mockery and ridicule, though *Plato* has convinced us it may be reduced to practice.

It too frequently happens, that, though the tutor may be equal to the truſt repoſed in him, the falſe glory of parents totally perverts all hopes of ſucceſs; for reflection enriches not the memory, though it forms the judgment: it tends rather to make them think wiſely than ſpeak much; but parents are always deſirous of being themſelves judges of the progreſs of their children; and many of them being incapable of diſtinguiſhing the good qualities of judgment, are perfectly well ſatisfied with the bare repetition of hiſtorical facts.

The principal deſire of ſuch parents is, that their children ſhould, in the early part of their youth, be furniſhed with materials for converſation, and be able to repeat thoſe things, of which the generality of the world may be ignorant, and which are agreeable in themſelves, as moſt hiſtorical paſſages are: whereas the principal end of ſtudying hiſtory is to accuſtom young people to ſpeak little, and reflect much; but never to repeat a fragment of hiſtory, merely to ſhew that they have read it: they ſhould be taught to conſider ſuch paſſages as authorities on which they are to found their reaſon, or as ſubjects to exerciſe it.

This kind of ſtudy, I mean that of reflection, conſiſts in natural and familiar conſiderations, ſuch as every perſon, when he hears them, fancies himſelf to have made long before, though perhaps they had never once entered his thoughts: thus they excite not any admiration; and

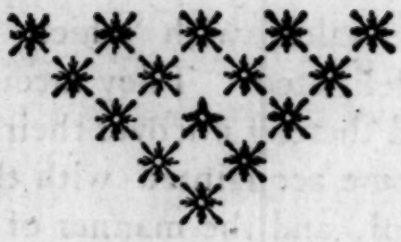
and it is therefore no wonder, that the generality of parents, who do not always think properly, ſhould be ſo anxious to ſee their children become the objects of applauſe to thoſe who are as ignorant as themſelves. Such parents ſhould be reminded, that this kind of applauſe is mean and contemptible, and that nothing is more dangerous than to accuſtom young people to the love of ſuch falſe glory.

It has been obſerved by many judicious and experienced writers, and among them in particular the inimitable Mr. *Locke*, that the moſt ſenſible men have not always the beſt memories; and this probably ariſes from their accuſtoming themſelves to reflect properly on what they read; by which means they increaſe their wiſdom and knowledge, rather than improve their memories: they think it of little moment to remember long accounts of ſieges and battles, and all thoſe horrible tales, with which weak minds are ſo much delighted. They meditate on what they read, and thereby diſcover their own imperfections, become acquainted with the nature of the human ſoul, and the manner of its acting.

From reflecting properly on the moſt ſingular and inſtructive parts of hiſtory, true morality will be derived, and the heart improved; but when young people read ſuch paſſages only to retain and to repeat them, nothing more will be learned from them, than a vain conceit of their own exalted abilities. Reaſon tells the laborious peaſant, whom Fortune has never permitted

to tread the flowery paths of ſcience, how little literary merit he has to boaſt of: how much more unfortunate is the youth, who, having had the advantages of books and tutors, while he flatters himſelf with his accompliſhments, is ſo ignorant, as not to know even his own ignorance!

Theſe are the firſt ideas which were formerly given us of this ſcience, by one of the wiſeſt men. I cannot better explain what was his opinion on this ſubject, than in giving ſome of his reflections on ſeveral very ſingular paſſages in hiſtory.



CHAP.

CHAP II.

Ignorance or Folly often give birth to the moſt ſhining Actions.

IT is a matter well known to hiſtorians, that the Grand Signior, during the conteſts occaſioned by the league, offered aſſiſtance to *Henry* IV.* The politicians of thoſe times gave probable reaſons for the *Turk*'s offering this aſſiſtance. Some attributed it to the ancient alliance of *France* with the *Ottoman* empire; others, to the hatred the *Turks* had to the *Spaniards*, eſpecially as the memory of the battle of *Lepanto* was ſtill recent; others, again, to the particular conſideration of the religion which the king then profeſſed, being ſtill a Huguenot, which made

* *Henry* IV. king of *Navarre*, was the firſt of the houſe of *Bourbon* that ſat upon the throne of *France*. Being a Proteſtant, he was obſtinately oppoſed by the Catholic party, and though he changed his religion to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects, yet having paſſed the edict of *Nantz*, for the toleration of the Proteſtants, he was aſſaſſinated by one *Ravillac*, a friar, in the ſtreets of *Paris*, anno 1610. His predeceſſor, *Henry* III. the laſt of the houſe of *Valois*, being ſuſpected of favouring the Proteſtants, had likewiſe met with the ſame fate, from the hands of one *Clement*, a monk.

him, in ſome meaſure, an enemy to the Pope, whom the *Turks* loved no more than himſelf.

There is nothing in all this which is not very reaſonable and probable: it is thus good ſenſe may be permitted to reaſon upon this ſubject. The miniſter, however, through whom the news of this offer came to the king, gave no foundation to theſe plauſible reaſons, but built on another, which he could not diſtruſt. The principal reaſon he gave for this offer of aſſiſtance againſt the league was, that the Grand Signior ſaid, he naturally hated that word *league*.*

One of the moſt common defects of thoſe, who read hiſtory only to furniſh their memories, is their never making any remarks on the actions of men, or endeavouring to find out the ſource of them. If this claſs of readers ſhould fall on the above hiſtorical paſſage of *Henry* IV. they would conſider the reaſon, which the Grand Signior gave for the offer of his aſſiſtance, as an inſignificant matter, and, as ſuch, unworthy of their attention; but the more ridiculous this reaſon is, the more neceſſary it is to conſider it; becauſe it ſhews, in its true colours, the folly and weakneſs of the human mind, which, of all things, are the moſt neceſſary to be known.

This example of folly in the Grand Signior may convince us of what has been often ſaid, and which cannot be too often repeated, to put

* *Qu'il haïſſoit naturellement ce mot de Ligue*, are the very words of the ambaſſador.

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young people on their guard, that it is almoſt incredible to conceive, how eaſily the mind is led aſtray by error, and a falſe conception of things. Whatever profeſſions we may make of penetrating to the bottom of every incident, we ſeldom ſink deeper than the ſurface: the firſt difficulty we meet with diſheartens us, and we examine no further into it: whatever powers of reaſoning we may boaſt of, the firſt impreſſion on our ideas carries every thing before it; and, whether it be through indolence, inability, or chance, we meet with no circumſtance ſo ſtrange, which we cannot find reaſonable, nothing ſo frivolous, which may not be ſufficient to determine our opinions, and no conſideration ſo abſurd, which may not content us, rather than be at the trouble of conſidering them nicely.

Had the Catholic party taken any other name than that of league, they would not have drawn on themſelves the indignation of the Grand *Turk*, nor would he have made thoſe offers to *Henry* the Fourth. Indeed, *France* would, had it not been for that, been leſs allied to the *Ottoman* Empire, the *Spaniards* would have been leſs odious to the *Turks*, *Henry* IV. leſs a Huguenot, and the Pope leſs an enemy to the Heretics. All thoſe plauſible reaſons for the offer of aſſiſtance would never have ſubſiſted, had not the Catholics aſſumed that unfortunate name; for, had they taken any other, it would not have awakened, in the imagination of the Grand *Turk*, the idea of all thoſe armaments being made

againſt him; and this diſagreeable idea would not have rendered all thoſe odious to him, who formed the confederacy. Who could have told Monſ. *de Guiſe*, when he thus named the party, that this would occaſion the Grand *Turk* to declare againſt them? So limited and ſhort ſighted is human prudence, that it would have been impoſſible to have perſuaded him to believe it.

Had the Grand Signior liſtened to the dictates of reaſon, and enquired into the motive of theſe preparations, he would have found, that all the pretenſions of the confederates were confined within the borders of *France*; but this fatal word *league* had made ſuch an impreſſion on his imagination, ſo much ſtronger than reaſon, as not to permit him to reflect, that theſe preparations did not in the leaſt affect him.

It may, perhaps, be alledged by ſome, "that "Princes only fall into this error, of determi- "ning by ridiculous motives; for, not being ac- "cuſtomed to that labour of mind, which is "neceſſary to examine things nicely, and not "being always willing to follow good advice, "many of them decide the matter in conſidera- "tion from the firſt circumſtance that ſtrikes "their fancy, rather than be at the trouble to "ſearch out the truth, or acknowlege their ig- "norance in aſking advice." It is indeed true, that the condition of Princes expoſes them, in ſome degree, more to this defect than the reſt of mankind; not only for this reaſon, becauſe that, generally ſpeaking, they are leſs accuſtomed to labour

labour, and leſs tractable, but alſo, becauſe they ſometimes conſider it as a point of glory to determine thus at a venture.

To reflect upon their affairs, to deliberate a long time, and to ſeek reaſon, truth and juſtice, with application, according to them, is the buſineſs of vulgar ſouls; but to follow blindly the firſt impreſſions of prejudice, to affect to determine from the lighteſt circumſtances of name, time, or place, is what appears to them great, extraordinary, and above the common level of mankind. There appears to them a kind of divinity in this mode of action, as if heaven was obliged to permit none but wiſe thoughts to enter their heads, and that inſpiration ſhould direct all their actions, the moment they became too idle to reflect.

This, however, is not the caſe with Princes only: The rich and powerful are expoſed to the ſame, through the neceſſity of their condition; becauſe all of them are abſolute, and flattered and adored, like Princes, by thoſe who are in ſubjection to them. Theſe Princes and Courtiers run equally the ſame riſque of becoming dupes to their pride and indolence, unleſs they take great precautions to avoid it. If juſtices of the peace in ſmall towns, where they are generally regarded as the principal inhabitants, fall into this error, what wonder is it, that Princes ſeldom eſcape it amidſt the parade and luſtre of a court!

We may aſk the queſtion, who are thoſe peo-

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ple that are free from this foible? Is there any thing more common, in every claſs of life, than that idleneſs of examining into the truth of things, that indiſcrete haſte of forming our judgments, and that impatience of putting a period, at any rate, to what becomes tireſome? Do we not every day ſee people grant favours, merely on account of the manner in which they are aſked, and which they would refuſe, if aſked in any other manner that might awaken their attention?

The art of knowing how properly to aſk a favour forms the beſt part of natural eloquence. Thoſe, who prey upon the inattention of others, lay down this as an infallible rule: deceive mankind, and there is nothing within their power, which you cannot obtain from them. Deceit is as often practiſed by the perſon who grants a favour, as by him who aſks it: ſome, through the appearance of charity, ſeek popular applauſe; and others grant that, through the external ſhew of devotion, which they would privately refuſe to juſtice.

A mere turn of humour often directs our actions in matters of great moment. To examine into the abilities of the many candidates to a benefice, requires ſome thought and attention; but to give it to him, who happens juſt then to fall in with ſome whimſical thought of our own, is too often the caſe: witneſs that Roman Catholic Prince of the laſt age, who, as he entered the church, obſerving a poor ragged prieſt, ſleeping at the foot of a pillar, gave him a very conſide-

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rable canonſhip, which happened to be then vacant, alledging this for his reaſon, that there might be one, of whom it could be truly ſaid, that good fortune came to him while he ſlept.

It is thus we may to advantage trace the actions of mankind, and draw, from their moſt inconſiſtent proceedings, inſtructions of wiſdom. It is very plain, that, if we accuſtom ourſelves early to ſuch conſiderations, we ſhall find, that there is nothing more equivocal than our actions, and that we muſt always aſcend to the firſt cauſe, if we would judge of them properly.

It is a nice point to reach the utmoſt limits of the human mind, and yet nothing is more requiſite, ſince, after we have once obtained that ſecret, there remains no fear of a ſurpriſe; for there is nothing but that ſurpriſe, which can hinder us from reaſoning juſtly on the greateſt part of the actions of life, as appears by the excuſes ſo commonly made by every one, *I could not have thought it—I never ſhould have miſtruſted any ſuch thing!*

CHAP III.

Malignity too often influences our Actions and Sentiments.

IN the reading of hiſtory, the youthful mind is too apt to be hurried away from reflection, on meeting with thoſe things, which ought to give them rather pain than pleaſure. It is no leſs ſtrange than true, that it ſeems neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the pleaſures of mankind, and to conſider which are natural, and which are the reverſe. That we ſhould take pleaſure in viewing the beauties of the creation, the ſun by day, or the moon by night, has nothing in it aſtoniſhing; but that we ſhould receive the ſame ſatisfaction from the relation of a bloody battle, or on ſeeing one man thrown furiouſly to the earth by another, in what is called ſport, is really very ſurpriſing. Nature not only forbids us to do ill to others, but even inſpires us with pity for thoſe ills we ſee others ſuffer, and, ſo far from being diverted with them, it directs us to relieve them, as far as we are able.

We muſt not ſuppoſe, with *Lucretius*, that, when we with pleaſure behold the misfortunes of others, this pleaſure always ariſes from the reflection, that we are not involved in the ſame evils.

evils. The mind could not long ſupport ſuch an idea; and, if that was the only ſource of its pleaſure, that pleaſure would be very ſhort, as it would ſoon give way to that compaſſion we naturally have for the unfortunate.

So great is the imperfection of the human mind, that it is not always neceſſary we ſhould be ſecure from the dangers, in which we ſee others involved, to receive pleaſure from them. Experience proves it in the combats at juſts and tournaments, which were formerly held in ſuch great eſteem, and where thoſe, who were ready to enter the liſt, received the higheſt pleaſure in ſeeing others thrown to the ground by the power of their antagoniſts, their helmet ſhattered, and their bones broken, though they themſelves were ſoon to be expoſed to the ſame danger.

Hiſtory relates to this purpoſe the anſwer of a *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador, which ought to teach us what judgment to paſs upon theſe and ſuch like diverſions; and by which it is eaſy to perceive, that we need only follow Nature to ſpeak good ſenſe, and that while we beſtow the epithet of Barbarians on others, we perhaps merit it much more ourſelves.

We are told that, under the reign of *Charles* the Seventh, the Grand Signior ſent an Ambaſſador into *France*, whom the *French* entertained according to the cuſtom of the times. As the greateſt diverſion of thoſe days was juſts and tournaments, they were the firſt things propoſed for his public entertainment. Every thing ſuc-

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ceeded admirably well in thoſe at which he attended: The courſes were violently furious, and wonders were performed. After the ſports were ended, the Ambaſſador, being aſked what he thought of them, anſwered very ingenuouſly, that, "if what he had ſeen was in earneſt, it "was not enough; if it was in ſport, it was too "much."

From whence then comes this prodigious attachment of all ranks of people, for thoſe ſports, in which men ſtudy the injury of each other? Is it that we naturally hate one another? When Nature expoſes us on earth to all the inconveniences of life, to the inclemency of the elements, and to the horrors of want, ſhe ſuppoſes, that theſe calamities will be relieved by that ſociety, which ſhould prevail among us, and which ſhould teach us to love one another, and not take pleaſure in ſeeing the increaſe of evils.

It is then that the ſoul feels ſome cauſe for vanity, in the happineſs of being free from thoſe ills, with which they ſee others afflicted; but this vanity cannot be culpable, when we endeavour to relieve the diſtreſſed. Let us, however, try to find out the true cauſe of the malignity of our pleaſures.

Every one muſt be ſenſible, if they are accuſtomed to make any reflections, that this malignity is more general among children, ſome women, and men like women, than among the reſt of the world. Hiſtory mentions the *Athenian* boy, whom *Areopagus* condemned to death, for having been

been found diverting himſelf, with putting out the eyes of his birds one after another. It is a general obſervation, that at all kinds of executions, or dangerous ſports, young people, and thoſe who are accuſtomed to think little, generally form the bulk of thoſe aſſemblies.

Inhuman pleaſures ariſe from a natural weakneſs of the ſoul, and are as contrary to magnanimity as an unbounded compaſſion, which, on the moſt trifling occaſions, vents itſelf in tears. Let us but enquire into the general character of thoſe, who take delight in torturing a fly, in putting a mouſe to the moſt exquiſite tortures, or prompted by exceſs of *Epicurean* luxury, in whipping a pig to death, we ſhall find in general, that they are people deſtitute of reaſon and reflection.

Let us not conſider reflections on the cruelty of our diſpoſitions as uſeleſs in theſe times, merely becauſe the circus, the amphitheatres, and all the barbarous magnificence of antiquity, are to be met with only in books, ſince the ſame malignant diſpoſition, which formerly raiſed thoſe cruel diverſions into ſo high an eſteem, ſtill ſubſiſts, and ſhews itſelf in actions hardly leſs culpable. We have, indeed, lopped off ſome of the branches of this unfortunate plant; but the trunk ſtill remains alive; and this fruitful ſtock of inhumanity and malignity every day ſends forth new ſhoots, which may one time or other reach that height, which the former never knew. When we conſider the engagements of the *Spaniſh*

niſh Cavaliers with wild bulls, the paſſion for the chace, which ſo generally prevails, the eagerneſs with which we attend all public ſpectacles of juſtice, and an hundred other things of the ſame nature, we ſee too plainly, that this unfortunate root will never be totally deſtroyed.

It would be perhaps uncharitable to attempt to enumerate all the remarks that might be made upon our unhappy diſpoſition to cruelty: theſe are ſufficient to convince us, that, if we have ceaſed to take pleaſure in ſome barbarous cuſtoms, it is not through the principle of either reaſon or humanity, ſince we form new diverſions, which are ſcarcely leſs blameable: it ſeems rather a change than a reformation, rather a diſguſt and wearineſs of that we have been long uſed to, than any horrors of repentance. Let us not then think ourſelves better than our fathers: men are equally wicked in all ages, and only vary the manner of being ſo, while they appear to correct their errors: their reformation, however laudable it may appear, is often the effects of inconſtancy rather than goodneſs.

Theſe, and many other ſuch like reflections, we paſs over for want of attention; and this ariſes from the rapidity of our paſſions, which hurries every thing before them, and will not permit us leiſurely to conſider thoſe ſentiments, with which reaſon inſpires us. We are not fond of enquiring into the propriety of thoſe characters we meet with in hiſtory, if we find their paſſions nearly correſpond with our own:

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we are willing to perſuade ourſelves they are good, rather than run the riſque of finding them bad on examination. Thus, without making any reflections, we paſs lightly over them, and ſuffer ourſelves to be hurried away by pleaſure, falſe glory, and the other paſſions.

If we would but properly examine our motives and ſentiments, we ſhould not ſo often follow pernicious examples, and it is much to be lamented, that the world in general do not more ſtrictly adhere to this rule; for vice is ſo odious, that even the moſt corrupted ſoul cannot but diſcover it on reflection; and, when we are once convinced of our errors, amendment is not far off.

There is, however, another ſource of the actions of ſome men, which merits a particular conſideration, as it is of a very dangerous nature. Againſt thoſe, who are manifeſtly wicked, we are generally on our guard; but great penetration is neceſſary to form a proper judgment of thoſe men, who, while they are vicious, affect to be virtuous; or who, while they fancy their actions really ſpring from virtue, are actuated only by vice.

CHAP IV.

Ignorance makes us often miſtake Vice for Virtue.

IF it is a misfortune to be vicious, it is ſtill much more unhappy, to imagine ourſelves virtuous, when we are really the reverſe. Nothing however is more common; becauſe cuſtom has made thoſe things appear commendable, which are in themſelves juſtly blameable.

There is no one, for example, who will not glory in having done a good action, in imitation of another. Whatever is done in imitation of the great, ſeldom fails of obtaining the applauſe of the unthinking multitude; and even tutors too often, and without reflection, recommend ſuch examples to their pupils.

However, if we ſhould judge of ſuch things with the rigour of philoſophy, that is to ſay reaſonably, it would be very difficult to maintain, that every action, performed through the motive of what is generally called a good example, is truly virtuous.

Let us ſee how far the following piece of hiſtory will ſtand the teſt of this examination: it is the gift, which *Charles* the Ninth made of the Grand Almonry of *France* to the famous *James Amiot*, his preceptor, afterwards Biſhop of *Auxerre*.

erre. In order to form a proper judgment of this matter, it will be neceſſary to trace it from its firſt riſe, and give ſome account of this remarkable prelate.

This excellent man was the ſon of a mechanic at *Melun* in *France*. While he was yet but a little boy, he fled from his father's houſe, to avoid the correction he was likely to receive for his youthful follies. He had not got far on his journey, when he fell ill, and lay expoſed on the road. A gentleman paſſing by, being moved with compaſſion, took him up behind him on his horſe, and carried him in that manner to *Orleans*, where he put him into the hoſpital, for the recovery of his health. As his diſorder was nothing more than fatigue, reſt and repoſe ſoon brought him to himſelf. It was in acknowledgement for that charity, that this illuſtrious prelate left a legacy of twelve hundred crowns for the benefit of that hoſpital: an action of gratitude worthy of a man, who had ſpent all his life in the ſtudy of wiſdom, and particularly in the reading of *Plutarch*.

When *Amiot* was diſcharged from the hoſpital, they gave him a ſmall ſum of money, by the help of which he ſoon reached *Paris*; but his little ſtock being preſently exhauſted, he was reduced to beggary. A lady, of whom he aſked charity, perceiving in him ſomething agreeable, took him home with her, that he might follow her children to college, and carry their books for them. The wonderful genius for letters, which

which Nature had given him, had now an opportunity of extending itſelf to advantage. He applied himſelf to ſtudy with ſo much ſucceſs, that he was ſuſpected of being one of the new opinion, which began then to make a noiſe: an inconveniency common to all the refined underſtandings of thoſe times. The rigorous perſecutions, which were then carrying on againſt the Huguenots, obliged him, innocent as he was, with many others, to fly from *Paris*. Men of letters were of all people the moſt ſuſpected, and with very good reaſon, as they were moſt to be feared.

Amiot, being thus driven from *Paris*, took ſanctuary in the houſe of a gentleman, who proved his friend, and who entruſted him with the education of his children. During the time that he was there, King *Henry* the Second, being on a journey, by chance ſtopped at this gentleman's houſe. *Amiot*, being deſired to compoſe ſomething in verſe to amuſe the King, wrote a Greek epigram, which was preſented by the young family. The King, who was not ſo learned as his father, perceiving it was Greek, threw it away with contempt.

It is eaſy to judge by the diſpleaſure *Amiot* muſt feel at this treatment of his epigram by the King, how great was his ſurpriſe at what afterwards happened. One of the King's miniſters, afterwards Chancellor of *France*, who accompanied him on this journey, picked up the paper the King

King had thrown away: he read the epigram, and was ſurpriſed at it. He took *Amiot* by the head, looked at him ſteadfaſtly, and aſked him from whence he had taken it. *Amiot*, who was not yet recovered from the conſternation, into which the indignity thrown on him by the King had involved him, anſwered, trembling, that he made it himſelf. The fright, in which the miniſter ſaw *Amiot*, left him no room to doubt of the truth of his anſwer. As he was a man of great learning, he found no difficulty in perſuading the King, that if this young man had as much virtue as he had ſenſe, and genius for letters, he merited to be preceptor to the Royal Family.

The King, who had all the confidence in his miniſter, which his merit really commanded, enquired *Amiot*'s character of the maſter of the houſe; and, as his conduct was irreproachable, the road, which led to glory, now lay open before him. The King lived to acknowlege the ſagacity of his miniſter, and the wiſdom of *Amiot*.

Great, indeed, was the ſituation of *Amiot* under the reigns of his ſcholars, *Francis* II. and *Charles* IX. when we conſider the meanneſs of his original; but *little*, when compared with his extenſive merit. He would poſſibly have never appeared in any higher employment, than that which he then poſſeſſed, had not chance raiſed him to that pinnacle of honour, which he had never any hopes of obtaining.

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One day, among the variety of converſation, which paſſed at the King's table, where *Amiot* was always obliged to attend, they entered on the character of *Charles* the Fifth. They praiſed this Emperor for many things; but, above all, for having made his preceptor a Pope, who was *Adrian* IV. They exaggerated the merit of this action ſo much, that it made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of *Charles* the Ninth, and induced him to declare, that, if opportunity ſhould offer, he would do as much for his. In fact, a little time after, the Grand Almonry of *France* being vacant, the King gave it to *Amiot*, who, whether he foreſaw what would follow it, or whether through pure humility, he excuſed himſelf as much as poſſible accepting it, ſaying, that it was too much above him; but it was in vain, for the King would not admit his refuſal.

This news, however, being told to the Queen-mother, who had deſigned this high employment for another, ſent immediately for *Amiot* into her chamber, where ſhe received him in language ill becoming a woman of her dignity. In vain were all *Amiot*'s proteſtations, that he wiſhed to decline accepting the office: the concluſion made by this arbitrary woman was, that, if he did accept it, he ſhould not live twenty-four hours: ſuch was the language of thoſe times.

On the one hand, the words of this woman were as fatal as the ſentence of a court of juſtice; and, on the other, the King was naturally obſtinate. Between theſe two extremes, *Amiot* took

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took the reſolution of concealing himſelf, as the only means of avoiding the rage of the mother, and the liberality of the ſon. One meal, a ſecond, and a third paſſed, and *Amiot* did not appear as uſual at the King's table: at the fourth, he aſked for him, and peremptorily commanded that the ſtricteſt ſearch ſhould be made for him, but all was to no purpoſe; for *Amiot* had taken care to conceal himſelf ſo as not to be found. The King, immediately concluding the worſt that could happen, *What*, ſaid he, *becauſe I have made him Grand Almoner, I am to ſee him no more!* and then fell into ſuch a rage, (as was natural to him the moment any thing oppoſed his will) that the Queen, who had much difficulty to govern him, and who feared him as much as ſhe loved him, had no other means left of paciſying him, than by finding *Amiot* at any price whatever, and in giving him any ſecurity he ſhould require for the ſafety of his perſon.

This action of *Charles* the Ninth was undoubtedly very laudable; but, if we ſhould judge of it by the ſeverity of philoſophy, it would be rather *Charles* the Fifth, than him, to whom the praiſe was due, ſince it was the generoſity of *Charles* the Fifth, which was the cauſe of that of *Charles* the Ninth; and we may, from this relation of the matter, venture to preſume, that, if *Adrian* had not been a Pope, *Amiot* would never have been Grand Almoner.

The principal part of the good actions of the great are of this nature: they accuſtom themſelves

ſelves to be guided by great examples, without conſidering, whether thoſe actions had their ſource in virtue, or whether the charms of virtue were the ſole motives of their imitation. This kind of imitative generoſity ariſes only from vain glory: the examples they follow have received the applauſe of the world; and, in imitating them, they hope to come in for a ſhare of that glory. I am far from ſuppoſing, that it is not laudable to tread in the ſame paths of charity and generoſity, which our anceſtors trod before us; all I inſiſt on is, let us purſue that beaten track through the love of virtue, and not merely for the ſake of that applauſe, which the vulgar only will give.

It is, however, certain, that there is nothing truly virtuous, which is not ſo through principle. Ambition and envy are paſſions, from whence ariſe all the falſe virtues of mankind, and the reputation they ſometimes ſo unjuſtly acquire. From hence, alſo, we may account for that variety we ſometimes find in the actions of the ſame man: at one time he will treat you with candor and generoſity; at another time he will endeavour to over-reach you in every thing. But this variety of conduct in the ſame man is very eaſily accounted for, if we will but take the trouble of enquiring into it: when ſuch a perſon does a generous action, it is done publickly, and with a view that it may appear to the world: if he acts a diſhoneſt part, he does it privately, in hopes it will never be detected. We muſt not,

not, therefore, judge of men merely from their following laudable examples; but endeavour to find out the true cauſe, which prompted them to ſuch imitations.

Thus have I endeavoured to convince you, that the generality of men are not only ſhort-ſighted and wicked, but that they are ignorant likewiſe, ſince they conſider thoſe actions as laudable, which are in their nature often blameable. This kind of ignorance, which conſiſts in forming a wrong judgment of things, is a defect much more conſiderable, than what the world in general allow to be *ignorance*, which conſiſts in knowing nothing at all: it is not the entire privation of knowledge, which is to be feared; it is the having learned juſt enough to lead us into error.

It would undoubtedly be a kind of knowledge leſs eſtimable than uncultivated ignorance, to know the whole hiſtory of the fortunes of *Amiot*, without thoſe reflections, which naturally ariſe from it; for ſuch curioſity is only laudable, in proportion as we make a proper uſe of it.

CHAP. V.

Hypocriſy is often concealed under the Cloak of Religion.

BY a nice reflection on the different characters to be met with in hiſtory, the youthful reader will ſoon be enabled to diſcover thoſe artful hypocrites, who always act agreeably to their conſcience, when it is not repugnant to their intereſt: they will ſometimes give way to little loſſes, that they may appear conſcientious, and thereby be enabled to deceive in matters of greater importance. When any thing conſiderable is put in oppoſition to conſcience, theſe men are then known by their ſacrificing conſcience to ſelf-intereſt; and religion is too often uſed as the cloak to cover ſuch iniquity.

We are told of a monk, who was ſent to *Rome*, to negociate a diſpenſation for the marriage of *Catharine*, ſiſter of the *French* King, *Henry* the Fourth, and a Huguenot, with the Duke *de Bar*. This marriage was diſagreeable to the Princeſs; but as the monk was employed by the Duke, his maſter, as well as by the King, he omitted nothing, which could facilitate the execution of his commiſſion. The matter, however, was very difficult, and the Pope much averſe to granting the

the diſpenſation; but the monk was not to be diſpirited, and determined at all events to carry his point. He did not, or at leaſt would not, conſider, that it was an indecency in one of his order, to ſollicit a favour from the Pope, which he could not in conſcience grant.

When the monk ſaw the many obſtacles, which oppoſed his ſucceſs, he reſolved on taking the medium between religion and intereſt, between the Duke and the Pope; for he could not a moment ſuffer the thought, that his maſter ſhould be diſappointed; or, to ſpeak more properly, that he ſhould be foiled in ſo bold an attempt. He therefore reſolved on finding out ſome means of bringing the Pope over to grant a diſpenſation, or elſe to conclude the marriage without it. He found, on reflection, that it was impoſſible to gain the holy father to his way of thinking; the only conſideration then was, to invent ſome method, by which he might, with the appearance of conſcience, at once overleap all difficulties. The good father was not long heſitating before he found one perfectly to his mind. We will ſuppoſe that he did it with regret; but at laſt he did do it: he cut the knot, which he could not unravel.

The monk, after giving over all hopes of gaining any thing from the court of *Rome*, and after mature deliberation, ſaid one day to the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who was there as Ambaſſador from *France*, ſince the Pope perſiſted in his refuſal, if the King pleaſed, he might find a place, where

he would not meet with thoſe difficulties; *for*, ſaid the monk, *a man marrying a woman, who is an Heretic, with a view to convert her to the true religion, abſolutely acquires a diſpenſation by the merit of his intention, being in hopes of converting her after marriage.*

It needs no great ſhare of theological knowledge to ſee through the ſubtilty of this extravagant aſſertion, and that here he made uſe of the appearance of religion only to ſecond his intereſted views. This expedient of over-leaping the diſpenſation, abſurd and ridiculous as it was, may perhaps be conſidered as the principal cauſe by which it was obtained; for the Pope was too ſenſible, and too well adviſed, to perſiſt in his refuſal, and thereby drive the party to the extremity of concluding matters without his permiſſion. Had the monk ſacrificed the fortune and intereſt of his commiſſion to the preſervation of the authority of the Pope, he would have done nothing more, than what was becoming him as a Romiſh Eccleſiaſtic; but then he would have gained little by that ſacrifice. In thus ſerving the Duke, his maſter, he was authoriſed to tell him, that he had acted a part, merely to oblige him, wholly inconſiſtent with his profeſſion, and thereby make a merit of his ſervices; for the monk well knew that the generality of the great eſteem the ſervices of a man, only in proportion as they ſacrifice truth and juſtice to their intereſt or pleaſure.

In the preceding letters, you have ſeen the four principal outlines of the human ſoul, *folly*, *malice*,

malice, *ignorance*, and *vanity*; for, without the laſt, the picture will be imperfect, ſince it is that, which muſt finiſh the work, and leave the whole complete. Theſe are the elements of the human mind, and its four premier qualities; from a various mixture and aſſemblage of which all the other paſſions are derived. Indeed, he who knows perfectly their extent, and the ſphere of their action, may then boaſt, that he knows mankind, and can give a reaſon for every thing they do.

You will perhaps ſay, what occaſion is there for ſtudying hiſtory, to learn that men are fooliſh, malicious, ignorant, and vain, ſince it is a truth of which our own obſervations every day convince us? I anſwer, it is not ſo eaſy a matter to judge properly of thoſe we live among, ſince we cannot always diſcern, what may be the motive of their actions, nor can we be determined by future conſequences till they happen: a man may, for a number of years, have univerſally born the applauſe of an honeſt man, and yet, in the evening of his life, prove a villain. In the ſtudy of hiſtory, we conſider the quality, the age, and the intereſts of the perſons, whoſe characters we are enquiring into; we there ſee what preceded, and what followed particular actions, the conjuncture of time and place, and every other circumſtance, even the moſt trivial in appearance, which good hiſtorians wiſely collect together on ſingular occaſions. It is by the means of ſuch aſſiſtance, which is peculiar to hiſtory, that we may reflect on every thing with order,

penetrate the ſecrets of the heart, and form a diſtinct and clear judgment of the actions of mankind.

It is certain, that, by accuſtoming ourſelves to read hiſtory in this manner, the mind ſoon becomes familiar to making the ſame reflections in the common occurrences of life; for, as the actions of men, however different they may be, are founded only on a limited number of motives and circumſtances, when once the ſoul has formed its judgment upon thoſe motives and circumſtances, it will be very eaſy to transfer thoſe rules, which we acquired in reading hiſtory, to thoſe affairs in which we are every day concerned. By reading hiſtory in this manner, we acquire that knowledge, which is ſo requiſite in the ſpiritual anatomy of all human actions.

You will perhaps ſay, would it not be better to ſelect from hiſtory ſuch actions as are good and laudable, to afford matter for reflection, rather than to make uſe of thoſe which are defective? I anſwer, it is true, that the greater part of thoſe, who have treated on the moral uſe of hiſtory, have followed this opinion; but it appears to me, if we ſhould ſtop at ſuch actions only as are religiouſly virtuous, the number is ſo very ſmall, that we ſhould find very little repoſe on the road, unleſs we ſhould ſuffer ourſelves to be deceived in the choice of thoſe actions, and give the name of virtue to what has only its appearance.

Notwithſtanding many people, who read hiſtory, may be capable of judiciouſly diſcerning

virtuous

virtuous actions, it is ſtill a matter of much doubt, whether the manner of inſtructing by good examples is ſo intereſting and ſure, as that which conſiſts in the ſtudy of defects. Let us ſee in a few words, what were the ſentiments of the ancients on this ſubject.

The greateſt men have ſuppoſed, that there are but two ſorts of people in the world. The firſt enamoured with truth, devoted to reaſon, knowing true glory, and in whom thoſe happy diſpoſitions naturally produce a generous ardour, and an heroic emulation, to imitate and equal all thoſe, who have ſhewn a diſintereſted nobleneſs of ſoul. To ſuch people good examples only are requiſite; becauſe that, having their eyes open, the natural beauty of virtue is ſufficient to attract them. If we were all of us formed like theſe people, ſays *Quintilian*, we ſhould have no need of making uſe of artifice to perſuade men to be good: they would want neither ſtudy, meditation, nor arguments, to make them reaſonable.

From the little that we know of the connections, which ſubſiſt between the opinions of the mind and the motions of the heart, we can hardly heſitate in our belief, that the greater part of thoſe, who ſo much eſteem the manner of inſtructing by good examples, endeavour to perſuade themſelves and others, that they are of that firſt extraordinary ſpecies of ſouls, of whom we have juſt ſpoken, and to whom good examples are ſufficient. We do not know that they

are not; but this we know perfectly well, at leaſt, that the number is very ſmall.

The other claſs of mankind, and which, indeed, includes the generality of the world, is ſaid to be thoſe, who, prepoſſeſſed with a falſe confidence, never enquire into their own defects; who are corrupted by an unbounded deſire of freedom and pleaſure, enemies to truth, which they condemn, and generally inconſtant and ſuperficial in every thing.

We cannot take a better method with ſuch people, than to ſhew them in hiſtory, as it were in a mirrour, the picture of their defects. As we are too indolent to enquire into the nature of our own errors, and too ſelf-intereſted to judge impartially, even when we condeſcend to make that enquiry, we can hope for a reformation only from hiſtory. Mankind is naturally fond of enquiring into the failings of others; and hence they with pleaſure read thoſe infamous characters, which hiſtorians have handed down to us. As ſuch a ſtudy is generally the employment of cool and compoſed moments, reaſon then unexpectedly ſteals into the mind, harrows up the ſoul, and awakens it to a ſenſe of reflection. It is then they ſee the enormity of vice, the folly of diſſipation, and the many calamities which follow in the train of unbounded paſſions.

Theſe advantages, however, are not to be expected from the reading of virtuous characters only. There is, indeed, ſomething in them pleaſing; but there is little that can awaken the

paſſions:

paſſions: they are admirable patterns for example; but act very little the part of monitors.

After having conſidered, in the preceding chapters, the four principal vices of the human mind, let us remark, that there are two others, which may properly be ſaid to be attendant on them: firſt, *prejudice*, which triumphs over the underſtanding, and leads the ſoul where it pleaſes. Secondly, the *paſſions*, which act juſt as the will directs them, and according to its firſt impreſſion. There is, however, this difference between them, that the paſſions have, perhaps, ſome foundation in nature; whereas prejudice has none; for it tends only to ſubvert the empire of reaſon, and to extinguiſh that light, which nature has given us, and which alone can make men happy. When prejudice has once taken root in the mind, we no longer ſee things through the medium of reaſon; we then call vice virtue, and virtue vice, and are no further able to judge of any thing. The ſtudy of hiſtory will then become uſeleſs, and we can no longer be conſidered as the agreeable members of ſociety.

CHAP.

CHAP VI.

Prejudice perverts our Judgment, and deprives us of our Reaſon.

YOUNG people ſhould be cautious, while they are reflecting on the different characters in hiſtory, that they do not ſuffer their minds to be prejudiced, or hurried into an applauſe of any particular actions, merely becauſe the authors of them bore great titles; for it does not follow, becauſe a man is rich and powerful, he ſhould be wiſe and virtuous, and have a true ſenſe of glory: they are too often the furtheſt from it. To examine this matter more nicely, let us conſider in what the great place their glory, and in what the common claſs of mankind place theirs.

Whatever good qualities perſons of high rank may have, they too often make their exalted birth their principal glory: it is their nobility that they prize more than any mental accompliſhment; and hence it is, that we often ſee the fineſt natural genius, even for the polite arts, loſt in the peer. To exert thoſe talents, which heaven has given them, would be debaſing their dignity, and lowering them to a level with common ſouls. The labouring man ſeems to act more

more upon the principles of reaſon: he values not himſelf upon his father's having been a good artiſt, but becauſe he himſelf is ſuch; and ſeems to expect the approbation of mankind, only in proportion as he excels in virtue, induſtry, and ſobriety. He knows that, if he once forfeits the character of an honeſt man, he is loſt for ever; while he ſees the great and powerful every day ſacrificing honour, truth, and juſtice, to vanity, pride, and luxury.

If there are any people in the world, in whom this falſe glory is pardonable, in whom it may be permitted to boaſt of the virtues of their *fathers*, it is ſurely rather to peaſants than peers. We may believe, without fear of impeachment for temerity, that conjugal fidelity is leſs general in the great world than in cottages; and it is very amazing, that thoſe people, who found all their honour upon *true* ſucceſſion, ſhould be ſo careleſs and indifferent in ſupporting it.—How great is the influence of thoſe phantoms, Cuſtom and Prejudice!

Theſe reflections, however general they may appear, are by no means meant to include the whole nobility: there are many among them, whoſe ſouls are above ſuch notions of falſe glory, and who pride themſelves only from the integrity and propriety of their actions. Hiſtory has preſerved the memory of an Emperor, perhaps equal to any of antiquity, for his abhorrence to thoſe partial diſtinctions of birth: he knew wherein true glory conſiſted, and could diſtinguiſh

guiſh it from that which was only ſo in appearance: he proved the truth of that excellent ſaying of *Tacitus*, that *thoſe, who know how properly to make uſe of empire, throw off its formalities.*

To comprehend this action of *Charles* the Fifth in its fulleſt extent, we muſt conſider the incomparable luſtre and magnificence of the court of that Emperor at *Bruſſels*, which was at that time the moſt polite, free, and populous, and the center of power: here *Germans*, *Spaniards* and *Italians*, were treated with equal reſpect, and merit only was ſuffered to claim a ſuperior conſideration. In this court, which was filled with perſons of the moſt illuſtrious rank, who boaſted of *Roman* Kings for their anceſtors, were two women of the firſt quality. A diſpute had ariſen between them, which, in point of pre-eminence, had a right to enter the church firſt. The Emperor, in order to put a ſtop to all future conteſts of ſuperiority of birth, determined to be himſelf arbiter in this cauſe.

We may figure to ourſelves the intrigues, cabals, ſollicitations, recommendations, long liſts of illuſtrious anceſtors, ſupported by indubitable authorities, that were formed on this occaſion: indeed, all thoſe arts were employed, which are too much practiſed in our modern elections. All this time, the Emperor, who viewed this buſtle with a ſmile, was not in the leaſt affected by this parade of falſe glory, but remained fixed to his deſign, immoveable as a rock.

The day at laſt approached, in which this weighty

weighty and momentous affair was to be decided. Had the fate of Kings and empires been at ſtake, the general attention of people of all ranks could not have been more attracted, than it was upon this idle diſpute between two vain women: the hopes and fears of oppoſite parties, the wagers of fools, the predictions of pretended ſages, the ſolemnity of the place, the brilliancy of the aſſembly, and the gravity of the Emperor, are all much eaſier to be imagined than expreſſed.

Surely, the conſternation, ſhame, and confuſion of both parties, muſt be great indeed, when they heard the Emperor pronounce theſe words, as a final decree, *that the moſt fooliſh of the two ſhould have the preference.*

There perhaps never was a greater enemy to falſe glory than this Prince: all the actions of his life are of a piece with the deciſion we have juſt mentioned. Expreſſions often eſcaped him, which, in all human probability, could not be premeditated, and which equal thoſe, that have been collected with ſo much care from the ſages of antiquity. It is particularly from ſuch extemporary replies, that we ought to ſtudy the true ſentiments of the ſoul of man. As they have not then leiſure to diſguiſe on ſuch occaſions, we may then believe that the mouth ſpeaks the ſentiments of the heart.

Among other things we may mention a Nobleman, who, ſpeaking in recommendation to *Charles* the Fifth of a *Spaniſh* Captain, boaſted that he never knew what fear was. *I am then certain,*

certain, replied the Emperor, *that he has never ſnuffed a candle with his fingers*; *for*, *if he had*, *he would be afraid of burning them.* We ſee from hence the true and modeſt opinion which this Prince had of bravery, and that he did not boaſt, like the *Spaniſh* Captain, of more than was to be expected from nature: he did not make true bravery conſiſt in an inſenſibility to danger, but in conquering, as much as poſſible, through the love of glory and our country, the natural antipathy we all have to the horrors of death.

Let us now conſider the influence of prejudice in matters of religion, the effects of which are very ſurpriſing, and almoſt equal to magic. When people are once prepoſſeſſed in favour of any one perſon, and are brought to believe that he acts upon the principles of religion, there is nothing ſo daring, nothing in reality ſo irreligious, which ſuch a perſon may not attempt with impunity; there is no action, how plain ſoever the artifice of it may appear, which ſuch a man will not make paſs for a maſter-piece of piety. There is nothing more common in hiſtory, than to ſee the ambitious making uſe of religion, either to advance their power, or to ſupport that authority they have already obtained. The examples of this nature are infinite; and we muſt not be aſtoniſhed that theſe artifices have generally ſucceeded, ſince they are founded upon the natural and general inclination of all people, to believe in Providence and an Almighty. But let us ſee, if there is not ſome more particular reaſon to be given for this ſucceſs.

The

The greateſt obſtacle, which the founders of ſects and empires have met with in the execution of their deſigns, have ariſen from the natural averſion, which men have to ſubmit one to another, and to give way to ſuperiority of abilities. It has, in all times, been an almoſt certain means of excluſion from pre-eminence, to ſhew the leaſt ſenſe of their own merit: and hence the great and ambitious have always taken particular care not to ſpeak of their own extraordinary qualities, which they may have received from the liberality of Nature: they have always acted with ſo much circumſpection, that they alone ſeemed to be ignorant of what every one elſe admired in them.

For the ſame reaſons, they have cautiouſly avoided diſtinguiſhing themſelves from others, either by language, dreſs, or any other ſingularities, which might ſtrike the ideas of the vulgar. Affectations of every kind always hurt the party that make uſe of them: they may have, ſays the common voice of envy, ſpoken finer language than others; but then that language was compoſed of the ſame words, which mankind in general make uſe of: they may have performed great feats in battle; but may not other men do the ſame? their principal views in all their actions have appeared to ariſe only from a deſire of exciting envy or jealouſy, which gives the greateſt pleaſure to mean ſouls.

The moſt happy artifice, which men have put in practice, in order to accompliſh their great deſigns, without raiſing the jealouſy of others, has

has been to make them believe, that thoſe actions, which appeared ſo much above the common claſs of mankind, were performed through ſome ſecret influence of the Gods. By this artifice the boldeſt attempts have ſucceeded; for, though the people thought themſelves at liberty to oppoſe any daring and open infringement on their liberties, either by a combined party, or any one in particular, yet they conſidered it as a mark of the higheſt preſumption to oppoſe the will of the Gods.

Thus it may be ſaid, that it was not to *Zoroaſter* the *Bactrians* ſubmitted; but to the divinity, with whom he pretended ſo frequently to converſe in his myſterious retreats. It was not from *Numa* the primitive *Romans* conſented to receive their firſt principles of law and religion; but from the Goddeſs *Egeria*, with whom he made them believe he freely communed as often as he thought neceſſary. *Mahomet* would never have been capable of making, in ſuch a ſhort time, ſo many millions of men obey him, had it not been for that marvellous pigeon, which they ſo often ſaw fly to him, and ſeemingly whiſper him in the ear. In this manner, the moſt famous impoſtors of antiquity have endeavoured to make the world believe, that the Gods ſeconded their enterpriſes only for the public good; and therefore it is no wonder they ſucceeded, without the danger of incurring the envy and jealouſy of the people.

Innumerable are the paſſages of this kind, to be

be met with in hiſtory: our own times afford us many examples of men putting on the cloak of religion, to deceive the credulous, and to obtain ſome wiſhed for object. Bloody wars, the total deſtruction of whole families, and the ſubverſion of ſtates and empires, have been the conſequences of religious prejudice. Happy thoſe, who know and practice the true religion, as taught them by Nature and Revelation! To conclude, let the youthful readers of hiſtory be particularly on their guard, how they are led to conſider any action as religious, merely becauſe it is ſo in appearance; but, above all, let them fortify their minds with reaſon againſt that formidable hydra, Prejudice, which perverts the judgment, and deſtroys the ſenſes.

Having endeavoured, in theſe ſix firſt chapters, to ſhew the uſe and end of hiſtory, and the reflections which ought to be made on the various characters there met with, in order to diſcover the true ſentiments of the ſoul, I intend, in the following chapters, to give the youthful reader an opportunity of reducing thoſe rules to practice, by laying before him the actions and characters of ſeveral illuſtrious ancients, as they are handed down to us in the annals of antiquity.

CHAP.

CHAP VII.

The Hiſtory of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.

AS ſoon as the laſt *Africanus* had given peace and power to *Rome*, by the total deſtruction of *Carthage*, a public magnificence was ſeen among the *Romans*, which was ſoon followed by the luxury of individuals. Having now no formidable enemy to fear, a perfect tranquility prevailed; and, as a conſequence of it, toils and fatigues were ſucceeded by indolence and effeminacy: the ſtrict military diſcipline, for which they were once ſo famous, was now changed into ſtudied voluptuouſneſs, and we at laſt ſee her citizens paſs from the love of virtue to the practice of vice.

The moſt powerful part of the republic began to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the magnificence of their houſes and gardens, by the delicacies of their tables, and the great number of their ſlaves. It was then for the firſt time, that we ſaw individuals adding ornaments to the capitol and the circus; and vanity taking full poſſeſſion of thoſe, who put themſelves to ſuch an immenſe expence, they betrayed in every action and geſture a pride and haughtineſs, which no longer left the leaſt remains of that equality, which is the ſtrongeſt ſupport of republics.

Though

The ſenators, who ought to have ſet examples of frugality, were the very people, who gave riſe to theſe diſtinctions, ſo fatal to the ſtate; and the poorer part of the citizens envied their ſplendor. It was a difficult taſk, to pay homage to thoſe, with whom they had till then been conſidered as equals, and who, indeed, exceeded them only in luxury and expences; but, as all the advantages which the rich acquired, and all thoſe marks of diſtinction which they uſurped, were derived from the order of ſenators, among whom they managed every thing as they pleaſed, they ſoon united to oblige the people to ſubmit to a ſuperior power, which was till then unknown.

Though the people ſtill preſerved a great reſpect for the ſenate, they had, for ſome time, taken umbrage at the power of the ſenators, with whom they had been engaged in many violent diſputes; and at the beginning of which they eſtabliſhed, in order to ſupport their rights and privileges, tribunes of the people, magiſtrates who were inviolable, and whoſe power at laſt grew to an enormous height. The people, I ſay, who were jealous of their rights and liberties, ſaw juſt cauſe for the daily increaſe of their ſuſpicions in the magnificence and unbounded luxury of the great; but ſtill more in certain affectations of authority, which appeared to them inſupportable. They ſcrupled not to pay all the reſpect due to great and illuſtrious men, who had ſignalized themſelves by virtue and heroic actions in the ſervice of the republic; but then they inſiſted,

ſiſted, that pride arrogance, and all pretenſions to ſuperiority, ſhould be baniſhed a ſtate, in which the people had the ſupreme power inveſted in themſelves. Theſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the people were aggravated by numberleſs incidents, which are foreign to my preſent purpoſe. The ſeeds of diviſion, now ſown between the two orders, were for ſome time prevented burſting forth to maturity, by the neceſſity, in which they found themſelves of uniting, in order to ſupport the wars againſt *Viriathus* and the *Numantines*.

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the *Romans*, who were then almoſt as great as they had ever been, ſhould be obliged to unite againſt one man, at the head of a banditti, and afterwards to take a ſingle city, ſuch as *Numantia* was. This is, however, one of thoſe hiſtorical facts, which will not admit of a doubt, its authenticity having been proved beyond contradiction, and of which I ſhall here make mention, as far as it is neceſſary to the ſubject before me.

Viriathus, who was originally nothing more than a ſhepherd in the Weſtern part of *Spain*, became ſome time after, by the effects of an unhappy diſpoſition, the chief of a company of robbers, who plundered every place they approached. The ambition of their chief, ſeconded by ſucceſs, at laſt raiſed him to be General of a conſiderable army, formed of men leagued and revolted againſt the *Romans*. Fortune favoured his intrepidity: the *Romans* were often

often conquered; and, for upwards of fourteen years, he was ſtiled the protector of the liberty of that part of *Spain*, which we now call *Luſitania*. Generals of high reputation and eſteem had the mortification of conducting the war againſt him, without being able to bring it to any favourable iſſue. Q. *Pompeius* had the diſgrace of being found incapable to preſerve an equality with *Viriathus* in battle; and thus the Captain of a band of robbers, ſo contemptible on his firſt appearance, ſpread as much terror by his valour and conduct, as by the pernicious example he gave to all diſcontented people, who plainly perceived, that they need only to put themſelves under the protection of ſo bold and wiſe a chief, to ſhake off the yoke of the *Romans*, which was then become grievous.

The Conſul *Servilius Cæpio*, however, eaſed the republic of this dangerous enemy; but in ſuch a manner, as did him no honour: for he bribed his own ſervants to kill him, and thus finiſhed this troubleſome war, by a ſhameful and ſcandalous action, which was the more ſo, as it was done by a *Roman* Conſul. His conduct was but ſlightly commended at *Rome*, though they were now in a manner loſt to all ſenſe of generoſity. When the murderers of *Viriathus* came to *Rome*, to demand a reward for their aſſaſſination, *Scipio*, who was then Conſul, told them, that "the *Romans* never countenanced thoſe "ſoldiers, who ſhould dare to lift up their "hands againſt their chief, and that their acti-

"ons

" ons merited rather puniſhment than reward." Theſe words may, perhaps, be conſidered as the expiring voice of virtue among the *Romans*.

The war againſt *Viriathus* was followed with that againſt the *Numantines*, which was, for a long time, very little addition to the glory of the *Romans*. This city of *Numantia* was celebrated in *Spain* for its riches and ſtrength, and particularly famous for the valour and reſolution of her citizens, who, without ever having armed more than ten thouſand of her youth, routed the moſt illuſtrious *Roman* generals, and obliged ſome of them to ſubmit to terms little worthy the boaſted maſters of the world. Such were thoſe, which the ſame Q. *Pompeius*, whom we have before mentioned, was obliged to ſubmit to, after having been entirely defeated. The treaty of the Conſul *Hoſtilius Mancinus*, with the *Numantines*, was not leſs diſgraceful; and, as it was done by the advice of *Tiberius Gracchus*, the elder of the two brothers, (though it is not clearly proved which of them) and as it is here I ſhall begin their hiſtory, it is neceſſary I ſhould mention this matter with ſome care and preciſion.

After the defeat of Q. *Pompeius*, and the rupture of the treaty, which he had made with the *Numantines*, Q. *Hoſtilius Mancinus*, one of the Conſuls, was ſent againſt that city, which was the moſt obſtinate and fatiguing of any in the neighbourhood of the *Roman* republic. *Tiberius Gracchus*, ſon of another *Tiberius Gracchus*, ſerved him as Queſtor in this expedition, which was the

firſt employment of any conſequence he had obtained, from the time of his ſerving under the ſecond *Scipio* in *Africa*, where he had acquired much reputation.

In this expedition of the Conſul *Mancinus*, fortune but little befriended him: whether it was through want of proper management in this war, whether through the invincible courage of the *Numantines*, or mere accident that rendered him unfortunate, it is certain, that, after various ſucceſſes, he was defeated in a pitched battle; and the ſame accident befel him in his rout, which is peculiar to Generals of but moderate capacities: his head was diſordered, and his bad fortune, or the danger to which he ſaw himſelf expoſed, rendered him incapable of thinking properly: he decamped in the night, in the utmoſt diſorder.

The *Numantines* had early intelligence of his precipitate retreat, and the little precaution he had taken therein. They purſued him immediately, and ſo vigorouſly, that, after having pillaged his camp, taken all his arms and baggage, and blocked him up ſo effectually that he could not ſtir, he found himſelf obliged to ſend a herald, to ſue for an accommodation.

The *Numantine* chiefs, notwithſtanding they had gained this victory, were heartily tired of a war, which they had ſo long and ſo bravely ſupported againſt the moſt formidable power upon earth, and therefore wiſhed for nothing more, than to terminate it at this time, when they were

victorious, and had the lives of ſo many *Romans* in their hands; from which conſiderations, advantageous conditions were to be hoped. All the difficulty was, to know in whom among the enemy they could rely for the fulfilling thoſe terms of peace, which ſhould be agreed on, and and that they would be confirmed at *Rome*; for whether it be, that the *Romans* were grown ſtrangers to fidelity, or that the Senate had the power of breaking treaties made by their Generals, be that as it will, the *Numantines* would treat only with the Queſtor, *Tiberius Gracchus*, recollecting that his father, in his expedition into *Spain*, had granted a peace, which was ratified at *Rome* with the utmoſt faith and punctuality.

Tiberius Gracchus accordingly haſtened to the *Numantines*, to conclude a peace with them, reflecting within himſelf, that, in the ſituation in which the *Roman* army then was, he ought to accept of any conditions, and conſidered himſelf as a perſon, who was going to ſue for a favour, rather than as one who was to ſtipulate terms of peace. Indeed, he was obliged to deliver into their hands the whole camp, with every thing belonging to it, all their valuable effects, moſt curious machines of war, and veſſels of gold and ſilver, as the only means, by which he could ſave the lives of upwards of twenty thouſand citizens, beſides a great number of allies and ſlaves, who compoſed the *Roman* troops, and whom hunger had already reduced to the laſt extremity.

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This peace, however neceſſary it appeared to the Queſtor and the whole army, was received at *Rome* with the greateſt marks of indignation, and conſidered as the moſt ſcandalous treaty that had ever been made. The Senate, which was a little too paſſionate in its judgment, repreſented this peace to the people, as an indelible ſtain of infamy on the *Roman* name: they confounded the errors, and want of precaution in the Conſul, with the peace made by *Gracchus*; and without conſidering, that the lives of twenty thouſand citizens could hardly be bought too dear, theſe bloody-minded fathers, ſecure from danger and diſtreſs, judged of the matter at their eaſe, and wiſhed that all had periſhed with hunger, rather than have ſubmitted to ſuch inglorious terms.

The people joined in the abſurdities of the Senate; but with this difference, that they would not confound the errors of the Conſul with the prudence of the Queſtor; and diſtinguiſhing the bad conduct of the war from the neceſſity of the treaty, they threw all the odium on *Mancinus*, and commended *Gracchus* for having ſaved the lives of ſo many *Romans*. The treaty was ſolemnly broken, as ſcandalous and injurious to the republic; and it was ordered, that the Conſul ſhould be bound hand and foot, and carried in that manner to the *Numantines*, that they might revenge themſelves on him for that rupture.

It may not be improper here juſt to take notice of the injuſtice of the Senate and the people, who condemned to ſuch a ſevere puniſhment a Gene-

ral, whoſe greateſt fault was that of being unfortunate, and who had not been guilty of either treachery or treaſon. Q. *Pompeius* had ſubmitted to conditions not much leſs inglorious, without receiving any thing like this laſt affront offered to *Mancinus:* but this is one of the many inſtances, which hiſtory produces, of popular inſtability. We ſhould likewiſe take notice of the love of the people for *Gracchus*, who would not admit him to bear any ſhare in the crime of the Conſul; for, anciently, when they thought proper to annul a treaty made by their Generals, they delivered up all the officers of that army to the vengeance of thoſe with whom they had made it. Here the people ſaved all the officers, that *Gracchus* might not fall among them; and the Senate, who doubted not of ſeeing him involved in the common diſgrace, was inexpreſſibly diſappointed, when they found the people contented with the deſtruction of *Mancinus*, in order to ſave a man, who, from his firſt figuring in the world, ſeemed to give apparent ſigns of his one day becoming maſter of the Republic.

Tiberius Gracchus felt much from his inability to ſave the Conſul from that affront, of which he judged him unworthy; and, indeed, he ſeems to have borne in his mind no ſmall ſhare of the diſgrace: he could not conceal his emotions of anger againſt the firſt promoters of the rupture of the treaty, to whom he ſaid in public, that it was nothing uncommon for a man to be obliged, through the ſeverity of fortune, to ſubmit to the hardeſt

hardeſt fate: "I ſee nothing (added he) in "making a peace, in which we are not obliged to "ſubmit to any thing that is infamous: we have "only given up that, which we can eaſily re-"place, and we have ſaved the lives of twenty "thouſand citizens, who may be employed in "conquering new provinces. What will thoſe "people ſay, who placed their confidence in me, "merely upon the foundation of your having "ratified a peace given them by my father? "And will they not plainly ſee the difference be-"tween thoſe times and the preſent?"

Theſe arguments had not the leaſt weight with a ſet of men, who were influenced only by party. The treaty was annulled, and the Conſul was ſent to the *Numantines*, who would not receive him, ſaying, that the perfidiouſneſs of a whole nation was not to be revenged on an individual.*

* The city of *Numantia* was afterwards taken and totally deſtroyed by *Scipio*, who had reduced *Carthage* to the ſame ſtate. The *Numantines*, however, defended themſelves to the very laſt extremity; for, being preyed upon by famine, and finding they could obtain no better conditions than that of ſurrendering at diſcretion, they grew deſperate through deſpair. To prevent their falling into the hands of the *Romans*, they murdered their wives and children, and burnt with them every thing that was valuable; after which ſome murdered themſelves, and the reſt ruſhed into the midſt of the *Romans*, where they were all cut to pieces, and not ſo much as a ſingle man ſurvived the taking of their city.

Tiberius Gracchus, however, reflected, on the one hand, on the malice of the Senate and the ſcheme they had formed for his deſtruction, together with that of all the officers of the army; and, on the other hand, on the love of the people, who had ſaved him in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner. He judged by this proof, which they had juſt given him, of what he had to hope from them in future, if he properly improved it. This hatred of the Senate, and love of the people, were the firſt ſources of thoſe ideas of ambition, which he then formed; and, if we may add to theſe conſiderations, that the republic was then in a very unſettled condition, diſputes running high between the Senate and the people, we ſhall ſee that every thing concurred to inſpire *Gracchus* with the thoughts of one day becoming the chief of the people, and the adverſary of the Senate.

He firſt canvaſſed for the Tribunate, as an office that would add weight to his deſigns; but, before we come to this election and its conſequences, it may be neceſſary to explain, in a few words, what was the nature of this employment, ſo celebrated and important among the *Romans*, in order to give more light into the character of *Gracchus*, who obtained it, and who, perhaps, had he lived, would have made it hereditary in his family.

In that memorable diviſion, which ſubſiſted in *Rome* between the people and the great, and which was ſo wiſely appeaſed by *Menenius Agrip-*

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pa, one of the conditions of the peace was, that the people ſhould create two Magiſtrates from among themſelves, and who never ſhould be of the order of Senators. Their buſineſs was to watch over the rights and liberties of the people, and to ſupport them againſt the power of the great. Theſe two Magiſtrates were called Tribunes, who aſſociated themſelves with three others, which made the number five, and which were afterwards encreaſed to ten.

Their power was very conſiderable even in its beginning, which, gradually encreaſing, ſoon became inſupportable to the great: they had a right to aſſemble the people, to ſtop the deliberations of the Senate, to approve or annul their reſolutions, and to arraign any of the magiſtrates, of what claſs ſoever, before the tribunal of the public; they had likewiſe the power of claiming a ſhare in the moſt important deliberations, and took cognizance of all the aſſemblies that were held in the city: they exerciſed, without one ſingle exception, an univerſal juriſdiction over all the *Romans*, having carried their authority ſo far, as to impriſon Conſuls, and condemn Dictators to ignominious puniſhments: their perſons were regarded as ſacred and inviolable, and were always followed by a prodigious number of people, who conſidered them as the interpreters of their wants, and the protectors of their liberties. Hiſtory ſhews us, in many inſtances, what troubles and tumults they raiſed in the republic by an abuſe of their power. So is it in all human in-

ſtitutions: whatever is originally intended for the good of mankind in general, the ill uſe of power, and the inſatiable thirſt of ambition, ſeldom fail to render it totally uſeleſs, too often moſt pernicious!

Such was the tribunate of the people, when *Tiberius Gracchus* formed the deſign of obtaining it: he was perſuaded, that, in the poſſeſſion of this high employment, he ſhould be able to complete the ſcheme he had formed, either in favour of his own fortune, or in lowering the pride of the Senate, againſt whom he had conceived the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of hatred and revenge.

He canvaſſed for this office with much attention; and the people, who had already given him ſuch a mark of their favour and kindneſs in the affair of the *Numantines*, and who always readily granted this employment to perſons the moſt obnoxious to the Senate, they ſeemingly took pleaſure in electing him, convinced beſides of the illuſtrious birth, merit, and virtues of *Gracchus*, whoſe character it may not be improper to know, before we proceed any further.

He was of one of the moſt noble and illuſtrious of all the *Roman* families; beſides many triumphs, battles, high employments, and many famous actions, with which the hiſtory of his anceſtors was filled, his father, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, left him a recent example of ſo much virtue as is ſeldom or ever to be met with: after having been twice Conſul, once Cenſor, and having twice merited the honour of a triumph, by

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the defeat of the *Celtiberians*, and by the reduction of *Sardinia*, he juſtly deſerved what every tongue ſaid of him, that he was leſs illuſtrious by all theſe advantages, than by his own virtue.

The merit of his father, notwithſtanding the exalted light in which we have viewed it, was not by any means ſuperior to that of his mother *Cernelia*, daughter of the firſt *Scipio*, whoſe nobleneſs of ſoul even paſſed into a proverb. If ſhe was honoured for deſcending from the nobleſt families in the republic, ſhe was no leſs revered for having given birth and education to the two *Gracchi*, of which *Tiberius* is ſuppoſed to be the elder.

However great may have been the advantages of *Tiberius Gracchus*, with reſpect to his birth, it is no leſs certain, and agreed on by almoſt all writers, that his perſonal virtues were ſuch, as rendered him equal to his father and mother, and perhaps to *Scipio*, his grandfather. He married, ſoon after he was admitted into the college of *Augurs*, *Clodia*, the daughter of *Appius Claudius*, who was then the firſt man in the Senate, and whoſe ſecond ſiſter married the ſecond *Scipio*.

With all the advantages of a fine ſtature, a graceful mien, an agreeable countenance, and much vivacity and penetration, he had a ſoft and natural eloquence, an inſinuating manner, a perſuaſive air, and the moſt happy genius, which had been carefully improved. He joined to all theſe qualities an unalterable integrity, a love for

juſtice, which ſupported the innocent, and puniſhed the guilty, though without totally deſtroying the criminal: he was in his manners ſober, and ſevere only to himſelf, without deſiring that others ſhould partake of his auſterity: he ſupported all the qualities neceſſary in a warrior, and had ſhewn in battle, on various occaſions, that he was no leſs acquainted how properly to command, than to obey; for, according to that ſtation, in which he found himſelf placed, he obeyed with the ſame pleaſure as he commanded others: he was liberal even to profuſion, and always gave without reſerve: in him the unfortunate were ſure of finding an infallible protector; and, laſtly, it is ſaid of him, that he was endowed with all the virtues that nature, education, care and experience, could beſtow upon one mortal.

Though this is the character given by many authors to *Tiberius Gracchus*, yet it is certain, that perfection is not the lot of mortals: it cannot be denied, that he was obſtinate in his reſolutions, fierce and haughty when he met with oppoſition, naturally reſerving his revenge againſt thoſe who oppoſed his intereſts, and partial in the higheſt degree for the people, in oppoſition to the Senate, in whoſe intereſt he hazarded every thing, perhaps leſs through the love of that juſtice, for which he was ſo remarkable, than ſeduced by that unbounded ambition, of which all his enemies accuſed him, and which indeed ſeems to be his principal vice. Such was the

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character of *Tiberius Gracchus* at the time he was choſen Tribune by the people, with univerſal acclamations, which gave him the more pleaſure, as it appeared to him a happy preſage of the completion of all his deſigns.

He was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of this high office, following the dictates of his natural reſolution, and the deſire which he had of trying his ſtrength, than he propoſed the *Agrarian* law, which was an endleſs ſubject of diviſion between the Senate and the people, between the rich and the poor: but he propoſed it at firſt with his uſual ſweetneſs of temper, and repreſented it as a law, the execution of which ought to be the firſt care of thoſe, who loved their country.

It will be neceſſary to explain the nature of this *Agrarian* law, as it forms one of the eſſential parts of the *Roman* hiſtory, and was the greateſt pretence for the revolutions, which afterwards happened. It was an ancient uſe among the *Romans*, when they had conquered any neighbouring people, to take from them a part of their lands, of which one half was ſold to pay the republic the expences of the war, and the other half divided into ſmall portions among thoſe poor citizens, who had neither wealth nor heritage. This cuſtom was the more laudable, as it effectually baniſhed extreme poverty from the republic.

The rich, however, ſoon found means and pretences to rob the poor of the advantages ariſing from this law, and the latter preſently ſaw them-

themſelves deprived of the only wealth they poſſeſſed. It is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that this at firſt cauſed great tumults, and a kind of ſedition. The Tribunes of the people, jealous of the rights of their conſtituents, were deſirous of remedying the inconveniencies, which aroſe from the love of exceſſive riches: after having addreſſed themſelves to the public, they made a law, by which no citizen was allowed to purchaſe more than five hundred acres of thoſe lands, which belonged to the poor.

This juſt and equitable law paſſed with the acclamations of the people, and to the no ſmall mortification of the rich, who were now obliged to ſubmit to the power of the Tribunes, whoſe juriſdiction was not then to be diſputed. The law had the propoſed effect, the lands were properly diſtributed by perſons commiſſioned by the people, and for ſome time matters reſted peaceably in this ſtate.

The rich, however, whoſe avarice was never to be ſatisfied, found out the ſecret of procuring perſons to take, under their names, all the lands in rent, and this ſcheme could not fail of ſucceeding, ſince they took care to gain the commiſſioners by preſents, or ſervices, and thus theſe ſuppoſed tenants were preferred to all others. This abuſe, ſcandalous as it appears, was nevertheleſs overlooked, becauſe the law was not ſuppoſed to be thereby broken, but appeared to be really preſerved; and it was not to be imagined, that theſe commiſſioners, choſen with diſtinction

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by the people, could be ſo venal, as to ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by intereſt.

At laſt, the inſolence of the rich encreaſed to ſuch a height, that they made no myſtery of this kind of traffic, which ought at leaſt to have been concealed with care. No one was any longer ignorant of the names of the real poſſeſſors of the lands, and it was ſaid in common, ſuch a perſon has bought for ſuch an one. Thus matters were now carried to ſuch a pitch, that it ſeemed unneceſſary any longer to make uſe of thoſe precautions, and they acted as though the law had been annulled. In fine, the rich publickly took, in their own names, and without any diſguiſe, as much land as they could. The power of the great, and the authority of the Senate, were now become inſupportable; the people found themſelves deprived of their rights, and the poor of their ſubſiſtance.

Public diſorders were feared, as there was too much reaſon to believe neceſſity and deſpair would ſoon arm theſe diſtreſſed republicans. The people had often riſen without any effect, and the Tribunes made ſeveral ſpeeches on the occaſion; but no one openly undertook to remedy theſe intolerable evils. *Lælius*, that famous friend of *Scipio*, had ſhewn much deſire to remedy this grievance, and was therefore in honour called *The Wiſe*; but, foreſeeing the dangers that would attend ſuch an attempt, he changed his reſolution; and, at his going out of the office of Tribune, left matters juſt as he found them.

Tiberius

Tiberius Gracchus, more firm or reſolute than *Lælius*—whether in the laſt journeys he had made, he had been affected at the deſertion of the country, which was cultivated only by ſlaves—whether he was prompted by ſome bold and enterpriſing friends, ſuch as *Bloſſius*, the Philoſopher, and *Diophanes*, the Rhetorician—whether he was animated by the letters, which were continually given him by various people—or whether, which is more probable, in doing this juſtice to the people, he found a proper opportunity of avenging himſelf on the Senate, and trying his fortune, according to the projects he had formed—certain it is, he publiſhed the *Agrarian* law, and renewed it with the general applauſe of the people.

He took care, however, to take this dangerous ſtep in ſuch a manner, as left no room to doubt of the integrity of his intentions: he took all the precautions imaginable to perſuade every one, that the public good, the eaſe of the people, and the love he had for the ſtrict obſervance of juſtice, were the only cauſe of that earneſt deſire he had ſhewn for the juſt obſervance of this law.

In order to give a greater weight to this important undertaking, he engaged in his cauſe the ſovereign Pontiff, *Craſſus*, whoſe ſacred authority was religiouſly reſpected by every one, and who, on this occaſion, failed not to intimate, that even the Gods were concerned: he likewiſe procured the approbation of that famous Civilian, *Mutius Scevola*, whoſe name, ſo great and illuſtrious in

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the republic, gave much weight to his deciſions by his knowledge and perſonal merit: to theſe marks of approbation in his undertaking, he added that of his father-in-law, *Appius Claudius*, whoſe virtues had ſo diſtinguiſhed him, that they acquired him the title of the firſt man of the Senate. Upon the whole, the edict, which *Gracchus* had publiſhed, appeared leſs his own, than the work of ſo many great men, who were held in the higheſt veneration in the republic.

Gracchus, in order to ſhew his moderation, and his deſire to ſatisfy all parties, publickly declared, that all thoſe, who had violated the law, and in contempt of it poſſeſſed large tracts of land, ſhould neither be condemned to fines or puniſhments; but that, on the contrary, all the revenues they had received from ſuch unjuſt poſſeſſions, which in reality ought to have been reſtored, ſhould not be demanded of them. In order farther to leſſen the ſeverity of this law in the eyes of the great, he added, that the republic, in taking from them ſuch lands as they poſſeſſed above the five hundred acres preſcribed by the law, ſhould indemnify them for the ſame, and that they ſhould receive their value from the public funds.

This apparent clemency, great as it was, made no impreſſion on the minds of the rich, who, as much through avarice, as the violent diſguſt they had for the Tribune, exclaimed bitterly, pretending that he was going to rob them of part of their inheritance, which would inflame the republic;

public; and that, if the people did not act with the greateſt precaution, they would ſoon ſee themſelves expoſed to the tyranny of the Tribunes, from which they had found much difficulty to ſecure themſelves ever ſince they were firſt introduced.

Gracchus, who was not to be deterred from the execution of his ſcheme, and who was very well perſuaded, that no abatements whatever would be able to ſatisfy the great ſo long as the law ſubſiſted, made another propoſal, in order to convince the world, how much he wiſhed to reunite the Senate and the people: he ſaid, that the people ſhould be contented with having juſtice done them in future, and that thoſe, who were then in poſſeſſion of prohibited lands, ſhould enjoy them in peace till their death. But nothing was ſufficient to ſatisfy the inſatiable avidity of the rich, who ceaſed not to exclaim againſt *Tiberius*, whom they repreſented as the author of ſedition, and the diſturber of the public repoſe. Then it was that the Tribune made that perſuaſive and pathetic oration, without once loſing ſight of that clemency and moderation, for which he was ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed. This, in proportion as it gained the affections of the people, encreaſed the hatred of his enemies.

He reminded all thoſe that ſurrounded him, that the moſt ſavage beaſts had their dens and their lurking places; while men, and ſuch men as *Roman* citizens and ſoldiers, were obliged to wander here and there with their wives and children,

dren, without having any ſettled place of abode; that it was unjuſt, that ſo many valiant ſoldiers ſhould ſtruggle with ſuch toils and dangers, to ſupport the luxury, riches, and ſuperfluities of thoſe citizens, who would not, in return, have generoſity enough to part with a ſmall portion of land, where thoſe ſoldiers might fix a habitation; that the *Roman* Generals had done wrong, when, to animate them in battle, they had repreſented to them, that they fought for the preſervation of their houſhold-gods, and of the ſepulchre of their anceſtors, ſince not one of them had either houſe or houſhold-god, and that they were totally ignorant even of the place which covered the aſhes of their fathers. "You are called (added he) "the maſters of the earth. What maſters! "who poſſeſs not an inch of it, on which you "may build yourſelves a hut, or reſt on it a "moment; and this while ſo many others, with-"out labour or fatigue, and contrary to the "moſt ſacred law, enjoy immenſe riches, and un-"limitted poſſeſſions, which they have acquired "by avarice and injuſtice. Is this your boaſted "republic! Was it not on account of that ſtrange "inequality, that our anceſtors ſhook off the "yoke of kings and monarchy? Can you believe "that it was the name only of kings that raiſed "the indignation of our fathers? Believe rather "it proceeded from that immenſe and odious diſ-"proportion of wealth, which the favour of the "prince wantonly laviſhed upon ſome, while "others equal, perhaps ſuperior in merit, were "ſuffered to languiſh in indigence and want, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.

SUCH arguments as thoſe we have juſt mentioned, pronounced with the force and elegance of the moſt agreeable orator of his time, determined the reſolutions of the people in his favour; and the rich, not knowing how to reſiſt that torrent of eloquence, which carried every thing before it, had recourſe to the only means left them in their deſperate ſituation.

The rich, who naturally hated the Tribunes, whoſe buſineſs it was to abridge their power, conſoled themſelves at preſent with the reflection, that one of the Tribunes, oppoſing any law, though it had been carried and approved by all others, rendered it null and of no effect. The enemies of *Gracchus*, now ſeeing it would be impoſſible to reſiſt his reaſoning and eloquence, bethought themſelves of gaining over to their intereſt, *Octavius*, his colleague, who beſides the connections he had with a great number of the Senators, poſſeſſed a very conſiderable ſhare of the prohibited lands.

Octavius was a young man of a good underſtanding, reſpected by every one, and who till then

then had given great hopes of his conduct; beſides, he was the particular friend of *Gracchus*, and had voluntarily promiſed to ſacrifice his intereſt to the glory of his friend, who made the execution of the law a point of honour. Many of his friends among the Senators entreated him to oppoſe an innovation, which would be ſo hurtful to them, and which ought to be ſuſpected by all the republic. He at firſt, with great firmneſs and reſolution, refuſed to liſten to their requeſts; but they made uſe of ſuch ſecret and powerful means, to which we may add the intereſts of his relations, and his own in particular, that he at laſt determined, as it were by force, to oppoſe the publication of the law.

Tiberius Gracchus felt the more from this oppoſition, as he the leſs expected it, and as his colleague and friend, who had ſerved him on every occaſion, he could have no room to ſuſpect him. He then gave way to the emotions of anger, not ſo much againſt *Octavius*, whom he believed to have been ſurpriſed or ſeduced, as againſt the Senators and the rich, who had made uſe of ſo mean an artifice to elude the juſtice of the law. This induced him, in the firſt impreſſions of his anger, to alter the mode of that law, which he had before propoſed with ſo much apparent clemency and moderation: he no longer allowed the uſurpers of the prohibited lands thoſe favours he before granted them, but inſiſted, that all, who ſhould be found in poſſeſſion of them, ſhould be obliged to deliver them up within a few days.

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This laſt circumſtance gave riſe to great diſputes between the two Tribunes. *Octavius*, who had promiſed to oppoſe the law, inſiſted that the inconveniencies which would ſpring from it, would entirely overturn the ſtate; that he would deprive the republic of its firmeſt defenders, as ſoon as he ſhould ſtrip the rich of thoſe acquiſitions, to which a long poſſeſſion had given them a right; that the poor, in whoſe favour this law was propoſed, would receive little benefit from it, through the impoſſibility, in which they would find themſelves, of deriving any advantage from ſuch lands, as would require great expences on their firſt falling into their hands; that it was beſides to be feared, that a civil war, which this innovation might eaſily produce, would ſo weaken both orders, that a foreign enemy might find themſelves in a condition to improve ſo favourable an opportunity to give the republic a fatal blow; and, laſtly, that he ſaw nothing more prudent than to leave things juſt as he found them, without attempting a reformation of all the abuſes. The greateſt ſtates "(ſaid he, one day, in ending his diſcourſe on "this ſubject) always overturn themſelves, when "they attempt to ſuppreſs every abuſe: as the "human body could not live, if all its bad "humours were taken from it."

Gracchus replied to theſe arguments with reaſon and good ſenſe, telling him, that upon the principle of *Octavius*, it ſhould ſeem neceſſary to tolerate every kind of injuſtice and oppreſſion. Their diſ-

diſputes were continued with much warmth for ſome days, but with the greateſt good manners; indeed, there eſcaped not on either ſide the leaſt word, which could be conſtrued injurious.

At laſt, after many fruitleſs endeavours towards an accommodation, *Gracchus* having omitted nothing that was likely to remove the obſtinacy of *Octavius*, and having particularly repreſented to him the ſincere and ſolid friendſhip, which had till then ſubſiſted between them, through the deſpair in which he found himſelf involved, he was obliged to proceed to extremities: he even offered *Octavius*, in order, if poſſible, to remove all objections, to indemnify him, at his own expence, for ſuch loſſes as he might ſuſtain in the obſervance of the law; but this ſo much offended *Octavius*, that it ſtrengthened his reſolutions to oppoſe. *Gracchus*, perceiving no hopes were left of bringing him back to his meaſures, reſolved to make the people judges of the difference between them; and, in the mean time, he made that lamentable and terrible edict, by which he ſilenced all the magiſtrates of the city, and ſuſpended the exerciſe of every kind of juriſdiction and employment, till the people ſhould approve or reject the law, impoſing the heavieſt fines, and the ſevereſt puniſhments, on thoſe prieſts and other officers, who ſhould act contrary to this edict.

This edict, publiſhed by the authority and command of the people, was not diſapproved by any one of the Tribunes; for not one of them

them was found reſolute enough to dare to oppoſe it: Thus the city was thrown into the moſt alarming diſorder, and there was no longer command, ſuperiority, juſtice, or adminiſtration; but it would be impoſſible to expreſs the vexation of the Senate, who ſaw the power of the people and Tribunes raiſed to ſuch a height: their deſpair was ſo violent, as to give *Gracchus* room to fear ſome fatal revolution, and even ſome premeditated act of violence. From ſome information he had received, he carried a ſhort dagger under his robe, in order to defend himſelf from the inſult of any particular perſon.

The people met on the day appointed for the aſſembly, when the rich, finding themſelves the weaker party, acted in ſuch an arbitrary manner, as gave riſe to an inconveniency, more dangerous than any that had yet happened. The Tribune, ſeeing himſelf and the people thus inſulted, would have opened the way to revenge by force of arms, which muſt have been fatal to numberleſs citizens, had not *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, two perſons of conſular dignity, who foreſaw the diſaſters, which muſt inevitably follow ſuch a ſtep, happily interpoſed: they addreſſed *Gracchus* in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and begged of him to ſave his country from the moſt fatal accident that could befal it. *Gracchus* liſtened to their arguments, being, perhaps, not a little pleaſed with the ſubmiſſions of theſe two great men. The Tribune, after exaggerating the inſolence of the rich, concluded with aſking them, what they

they would have him do. They begged of him to diſmiſs the aſſembly, and to agree that the Senate might be called together, where they would endeavour, in ſome meaſure, to conform to his wiſhes: *Gracchus* could not refuſe ſo reaſonable a requeſt, and ordered the people to depart for that day.

The ſenate, however, which was compoſed of thoſe very people, who moſt oppoſed the paſſing of the law, and who had the ſtrongeſt reaſons for ſo doing, deliberated only how they ſhould overturn it. *Gracchus*, juſtly incenſed at the return they made him for the delay he had granted, and highly diſſatisfied with ſome ſecret artifices, of which he had diſcovered *Octavius* to be guilty, he aſſembled the people the next day, and endeavoured to convince them of the inutility of the delays he had granted, in order to ſoften the obduracy of the Senate and the great: he again exaggerated the violence of the rich, the ſufferings of the poor, the juſtice of the law, and the little foundation there was for thoſe difficulties which were ſtarted againſt it. He then addreſſed himſelf to his colleague, *Octavius*: "Will you always (ſaid he to him in the moſt friendly and complaiſant manner) act in oppoſition to the liberty and eaſe of the people, and will you not at laſt open your eyes to the true intereſt of the republic, and perhaps to your own likewiſe?" He conjured him, by the moſt tender ties, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between them, to comply with his meaſures; and taking him by

by the hand, "Be aſſured, (ſaid he) that you "have been the only cauſe, that has ſo long "induced me to defer the vengeance of the "people."

In vain were all the arguments of *Gracchus*; for *Octavius* was actually engaged with his enemies, and always inſiſted, that the law was unjuſt and dangerous, and therefore could not conſent to it. *Gracchus*, ſeeing nothing was to be done with him, "Since (ſaid he) *Octavius* and I "are of different opinions, and ſince cuſtom "forbids any thing paſſing into a law, which is "objected to by one of the Tribunes, it is ne-"ceſſary, in order to avoid inteſtine commotions, "that one of us ſhould be depoſed from our of-"fice. As to myſelf, (added he) I ſhall with "pleaſure obey the will of the people, and I "will deſcend the tribunal, if they think it ne-"ceſſary: it is but juſt that *Octavius* ſhould pay "the ſame obedience." *Octavius* objected to the propoſal, and repreſented it as an unprecedented caſe, to depoſe a Tribune merely for difference in opinion. *Gracchus*, deſirous of bringing him into his meaſures, and being willing to give him time to think of it, once more diſmiſſed the aſſembly till the next day.

The people aſſembled at the appointed time, and *Octavius* ſtill remaining inflexible, *Gracchus* proceeded to the depoſition. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, from what has been already obſerved, that matters went hard againſt *Octavius*. When there was but one vote wanting to deprive him

of

of his dignity, *Gracchus* ordered them to ſtop, and thus addreſſed *Octavius:* "Is not this enough "to convince you of the ſenſe of the people? or "are you determined to complete your diſgrace? "You have ſtill time to reflect on the juſtice you "owe to the intereſt of the republic and your "own glory: in a moment, if you continue "inflexible, it will be too late, and I ſhall have "the eternal diſagreeable reflection of having "been, in ſpite of myſelf, the cauſe of your "ignominy." Here *Octavius* appeared ſtaggered in his opinion, what part he ſhould take: he conſidered the ſhame, which would conſequently follow his being turned out of office, and the little purpoſe his reſiſtance would anſwer. It is probable he would have changed his mind, if ſome of the rich, who ſurrounded him, had not intimidated him by their preſence and their menaces. At laſt, being forced, as it were, to preſerve an uniformity in the latter part of his conduct, "Finiſh (ſaid he to *Gracchus)* what you "have begun!"

His diſgrace, paſſed by the voices of all the people, was executed immediately; and it was very ſtrange to ſee a Tribune ignominiouſly dragged out of the tribunal; and this violence of *Gracchus*, in which we ſee but little appearance of that mildneſs and wiſdom, for which he had been ſo much celebrated, may ſerve to convince us, how much paſſion deprives us of reaſon, and makes us forgetful even of our own intereſts.

The novelty of this method of proceeding

raiſed a general murmur among the rich, and many of the Senate, who were preſent on this occaſion: This murmur encreaſing, the people, who were always ripe for any miſchief, when their paſſions were once rouſed, believing that the great, from whom all the noiſe came, did this in ſupport of *Octavius*, ran after their late Conſul, and, in all probability, would have killed him, had not a crowd of his friends, and even *Gracchus* himſelf, haſtened to his protection. His ſecurity and ſafe retreat was, however, principally owing to a faithful ſervant, who had his eyes beat out, in ſaving his maſter from their rage.

After this, the law paſſed without any difficulty, and three commiſſaries were named to make a proper diſtribution of the lands. In this election of the commiſſaries was plainly ſhewn the abſolute power *Gracchus* had over the minds of the people, ſince he procured the election to fall on himſelf, his father-in-law, *Appius Claudius*, and his brother, *C. Gracchus*, who was then in the army under *Scipio*.

We may eaſily ſuppoſe, that theſe three commiſſaries, being all of one family, conſiderably encreaſed the exclamations of thoſe, to whom the diſtribution of the lands was hurtful: They complained bitterly of the arbitrary proceedings of the Tribune, and the unwarrantable uſe he made of the tribunal, which they conſidered as now become the ſeat of tyranny, and more inſupportable than a throne.

The enemies of *Gracchus* every day ſpread the report,

report, that he aſſumed the power of monarchy, that he could no longer endure an equality in his colleague, that he had already the authority of a King, and that the people would ſoon be no longer in a condition to refuſe him the title, ſhould he think proper to demand it. Indeed, the people, who were the abſolute diſtributors of honours and favours, acted only by the inſpirations, the advice, and, I may almoſt ſay, the orders of *Gracchus*, who created magiſtrates of every rank, nominated the Generals of the army, and had the finances at his command. He puſhed matters ſo far, as to ſubſtitute, in the room of *Octavius*, whom we have juſt ſeen depoſed, one of his domeſtics and followers, *Mutius* by name, who was a man unknown, and of no further conſequence, than what he derived from *Gracchus*. The Tribune knew very well that this man would never oppoſe him.

They exclaimed in the Senate againſt this uſurpation of power, and *Scipio Naſcica*, one of the firſt of that order, knew no bounds to his rage, having ſuffered an immenſe loſs by the new law. All their efforts, however, were ineffectual, and their vengeance produced nothing but a few feeble decrees, ſuch as limitting the expences of the Tribune, and taxing him to a certain allowance *per diem*, which tended to ſhew rather their weakneſs than their judgment; for *Gracchus*, taking the advantage of all theſe acts, made uſe of them to animate the people ſtill more againſt the Senate, and thus baffled his enemies in every attempt to leſſen his authority.

One of the particular friends of *Gracchus* dying ſuddenly at this time, and with ſome indications of poiſon, the people conſidered it as an act committed by the Senate; and the Tribune, willing to make the moſt of this diſpoſition of the people, appeared in the tribunal dreſſed in mourning, and preſented to their view his children and family, begging they would take them under their protection. "You ſee, (ſaid he to them) "that they have already, by the moſt baſe and "infamous means, robbed me of my friend: "preſently they will attack me alſo; but I ſhall "freely fall a victim to ſave your liberty: I "have nothing to diſturb me, but the thoughts "of leaving my children expoſed to their fury: "I am however perſuaded, that they will find "in theſe citizens a good and generous protec-"tor, who will ſecure them from all fatal "events." This touching ſcene had all the effect the Tribune could wiſh for; and never was ſo much hatred ſeen in the people againſt all the Senators, the powerful, the rich, and, in a word, all who oppoſed the party of *Gracchus*.

Matters were in this ſtate, when one *Eudemus* brought to *Rome* the laſt will and teſtament of *Attalus Philopater*, King of *Pergamus*, who was lately dead, and who had left the *Roman* people his heir. This gave a freſh opportunity to the Tribune of acquiring, in a higher degree, the good graces of the people, and of incurring ſtill more the hatred of the Senate. He ordered the money which ſhould be found in the treaſury

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of that King to be diſtributed among the poor citizens; thoſe who had juſt received the lands uſurped by the rich, he ordered to be ſupplied with houſehold furniture, implements of huſbandry for the tillage of their lands, and ſuch other things as were neceſſary for them in their new habitations. As to the cities and provinces, which compoſed the ſtates of that King, he declared that the Senate ſhould not touch them; and that, as it was the people, who were appointed his heir, they only ſhould have the diſpoſal of them. All theſe matters he propoſed to them, in order to know their opinion.

The violent terms, in which, without the leaſt precaution or reſerve, he expreſſed himſelf againſt the Senate, irritated that order to the higheſt pitch of fury. They were naturally fierce and haughty, and their anger on this occaſion was vented in the bittereſt reproaches on the Tribune. *Pompeius* told him, that the ſame *Eumenes*, who had brought him the will of the King of *Pergamus*, had likewiſe brought him the royal diadem, and a purple robe, which might ſoon ſerve him in the kingdom he affected at *Rome*.—It was indeed true, that *Attalus*, at his death, had ordered that they ſhould ſend to the Tribunes of the *Roman* people all the marks of his dignity. This regalia had been depoſited in the hands of *Gracchus*; but he concealed it from the people, perhaps, for very particular reaſons. *Metellus* alſo reproached him with affecting particular diſtinctions in his family, which plainly

ſhewed his deſire of raiſing himſelf and his deſcendants to a rank above all others.

Of all the reproaches he received in the Senate, none affected him ſo much, as that from *T. Annius*, a perſon of little merit or conſequence, but a man of much ſpirit and high notions of liberty: "To "what end, (ſaid he) do we enter into a long "detail of the attempts of *Gracchus* and his "family? let he himſelf be the judge. Is it not "true, (continued he, addreſſing himſelf to him) "that you have marked with infamy one of "your colleagues in a magiſtracy, which ren-"dered him, even by the laws of thoſe people "you ſo much reſpect, ſacred and inviolable? "and of what attempts have you not ſhewn "yourſelf capable, which ought to render you "the moſt odious to thoſe people, of whom you "are the idol, and which plainly ſhew how "much you aſpire to royalty."

Gracchus was the more affected with this accuſation, the more true it was, and conſequently found it difficult to defend it. In a little time, loſing that coolneſs and ſerenity, ſo peculiar to him, he retired with ſome marks of emotion and rage. He immediately aſſembled the people, and complained to them of the ill treatment he had received from the Senate; but, above all, from one man the leaſt eſteemed in the republic. Upon this motion, the people appeared diſpoſed to do every thing for him, and ordered, that the offender ſhould inſtantly be brought to make his defence.—This was a falſe ſtep in *Gracchus*, and

was

was the reſult of paſſion: It ſhews how much the greateſt men are ſometimes off their guard, and how much anger is on all occaſions to be avoided.

Annius being brought before him, deſired to be heard before they proceeded any further: "You "make your complaint againſt me, (ſaid he) for "having reproached you with being the cauſe "of the diſgrace of *Octavius*. Who would ever "believe, that in a republic a man may not be "permitted to repreſent the violation of the "laws? but if now, you ſhould treat me with "injuſtice and paſſion, and any one of your col-"leagues, who are here preſent, ſhould ſtand "forth in my defence, and oppoſe your violences, "would you for that deprive him of his office?"

This juſt and reaſonable defence affected much the minds of all the Tribunes, and made them reflect how much they were the dupes to *Gracchus*; the people were mute, and *Gracchus* himſelf was ſo much ſurpriſed, that, with all the readineſs of mind, of which he was uſually ſo great a maſter, he knew not how to reply. He burſted away ſuddenly from the aſſembly, whom he ſaw diſguſted; and, two days after, he delivered a long oration, in juſtification of his conduct towards *Octavius*, which was ſpoken with all the powers of oratory, and in ſo maſterly a manner, that he thereby ingratiated himſelf into the favour of the people as much as ever.

Gracchus, however, could not help reflecting on the inconſtancy of the multitude, in whom he had ſeen ſo viſible an alteration, only from a few words ſpoken by a bold and ſpirited man.

All his friends perceived it likewiſe, and adviſed him, by any means, to think of the ſecurity of his perſon, for which he had much to fear. Some of them propoſed his accommodation with the Senate: but how could he truſt to his enemies, whom he had deprived of immenſe wealth and poſſeſſions, and injured in ſuch a manner as could never be forgiven? Beſides, this accommodation would appear very little conformable to the natural diſpoſition of *Gracchus*, and ſuch a ſtep would have induced every one to ſay, that he had either embarked in a bad cauſe, or had been weak enough to abandon a good one, which were two concluſions equally diſreputable to a man of his character.

Some others, of a more timid diſpoſition, adviſed him to withdraw from the city, in order to avoid the dangers, which they conſidered as evitable, and for ſome time to ſeek an aſylum far from *Rome*, where he had been the author of ſo much confuſion; but he conſidered their advice as unworthy a man of his courage, and he could not think of tarniſhing his glory by ſo cowardly a flight.

Many of his friends, who had endeavoured to preſerve a medium in all theſe troubles, adviſed him to keep meaſures with both orders, and that while he ſupported the intereſt of the people, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed from the beginning, to obſerve ſome reſpect to the Senate, which might remove the hatred the great had conceived againſt him; but this advice appeared to him more

more replete with danger, than the ſituation, to which he now found himſelf reduced. "Can "you believe, (ſaid he to thoſe who gave him "this advice) that the parade of mere complai- "ſance will reſtore me the good will of thoſe "great people, whom I have reduced to a ſmall "fortune? Will they forget, that they had for- "merly a conſiderable number of ſlaves, a ſump- "tuous table, and magnificent furniture, and "that it were my laws only, which have de- "prived them of all their ſtate and grandeur?— "No, (added he) they will never loſe ſight of "their hopes of revenge. We muſt make this "difference between the people and the great: "the former eaſily forget both favours and inju- "ries; whereas the latter retain an eternal re- "membrance of thoſe riches they once poſſeſſed, "and live only in hopes of revenging themſelves "on thoſe, who were the means of taking "them from them. When a man is embroiled "with the Senate, he muſt act like one revolted "againſt his Prince. As ſoon as the Senate has "declared him an enemy, he muſt draw his "ſword never more to ſheath it, and hope to ſe- "cure himſelf from impunity only by force of "arms. I muſt not flatter myſelf; I have no- "thing to hope for, but from the weakneſs and "inability of the Senate, and I cannot do other- "wiſe, than confide all my hopes in the friend- "ſhip of the people, to whom I am devoted."

This was the reſolution of *Gracchus*, which he ſupported in the preſence of his friends with

all the ſeeming juſtice and plauſibility imaginable; but he took care to conceal from them what made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on his mind, and which had previouſly determined him to reject all their advice, and follow the dictates of his own ambition.

His ambition, which was his ruling paſſion, determined him in every thing, and this paſſion raged in his boſom with the more violence, in proportion as he was obliged to conceal it. It is impoſſible to ſay with certainty, what was the end to which his ambition tempted him: we may, perhaps, judge raſhly when we ſuppoſe he had royalty in view, notwithſtanding that was the accuſation of all his enemies; it is however certain, that his imagination was filled with a thouſand ideas of grandeur, power, command, and adminiſtration, which, added all together, form an idea not far diſtant from monarchy. Nothing flattered him ſo agreeably as the hopes of commanding, and he very probably cheriſhed thoſe hopes through an eagerneſs to be one day able of revenging himſelf on the Senate, who had reſolved on his ruin and deſtruction. We may, however, reaſonably ſuppoſe, that he was not deficient in ſentiments of juſtice and generoſity, which obliged him to ſeek an abſolute power, in order to reſtore the republic to perfect freedom, and to deliver them from the tyranny and oppreſſion of the rich and powerful.

However this may be, it is well known, that he no longer preſerved any meaſures with the Senate, and ſupported the intereſt of the people

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with a ſtill higher hand. He now determined on getting himſelf elected Tribune for the enſuing year, and for this purpoſe fell in with the humours of the people on every occaſion. He was continually making new edicts in their favour, and every day bringing ſuits againſt thoſe, of what rank ſoever, who ſhewed the leaſt diſreſpect to a citizen. The Senate were much vexed, when they ſaw him bring even the magiſtrates in judgment before the people; but they feared the entire ruin of the Senate, when the Tribune inſinuated, that the people ought to add to the Senators an equal number of Knights, who ſhould be inveſted with the ſame power as themſelves. Here began thoſe diſorders which were attended with the moſt diſagreeable conſequences.

The day appointed for the confirming thoſe edicts, by the majority of voices, being come, the Tribune dreſſed himſelf early in the morning, in order to repair to the capitol; but there happened to him many diſagreeable incidents, which were conſidered as fatal preſages; for the *Romans*, at that time, were much addicted to the ſuperſtition of preſages, and conſidered the Gods as capable of foretelling, by the flight of birds and other inſignificant omens, any great event that was to happen. The young ſtudent in hiſtory ſhould, however, be very cautious how he gives credit to thoſe omens, which are ſaid to have happened on this occaſion, and many others of the like nature. The writers of antiquity, however valuable in other reſpects, ſeem to have fallen much into this groſs error; an error, not

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ſo much to be laid to their charge, as to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times in which they wrote.

To quit this digreſſion and proceed. It was obſerved, that the chickens would not eat all that morning; that the Tribune hurt his foot very much in going out of his door; and that ſcarce had he got into the ſtreet, but he ſaw two ravens fighting, one of which let fall, cloſe to his feet, a large flint ſtone, big enough to have killed him, had it pitched on his head.

All theſe accidents ſurpriſed the Tribune; and though his character was infinitely above ſuch ſuperſtitious and ridiculous cauſe for fright, he could not help feeling ſome of thoſe prejudices, which he had imbibed in his infancy, and repreſented to himſelf all the misfortunes, which theſe preſages ſeemed to forebode. Even the moſt bold and reſolute among thoſe who attended him, were ſeized with the utmoſt terror, and inſiſted either on abandoning the Tribune, or obliging him to return to his houſe.

At this inſtant, three or four of his moſt faithful friends came to him from the capitol, to tell him to haſten thither, where the people expected him with impatience, and that, as his party was ſo very powerful, he ought not to delay a moment to join them. It was then that the illuſtrious *Bloſſius* ſeverely reprimanded him, telling him, it was a diſgrace to him, and all thoſe who were attached to his intereſt, to be prevented, by the fight of two ravens, from following his duty, and ſerving thoſe people who

ſo

ſo anxiouſly expected him. "Is this conduct "(added *Bloſſius*) becoming the ſon of *Gracchus*, "the grandſon of *Scipio*, and the protector of "the liberties of the *Roman* people? Your "enemies will laugh at you with reaſon, and "you will make yourſelf contemptible. Delay "not, but haſten to the aſſiſtance of a peo-"ple, whom the rich and powerful would op-"preſs."

He followed his advice, and never was any perſon received more agreeably in the capitol: nothing could exceed the general acclamations on his arrival, when the friends of *Gracchus*, fearful of treachery, endeavoured to prevent any one from approaching too near him. He was already ſeated in his tribunal, and had begun to proceed to buſineſs, which was carried on in a very tumultuous manner, on account of the great concourſe of people. In the midſt of theſe proceedings, *Flavius Flaccus*, a Senator of well-known merit, endeavoured to preſs through the croud, and get to the Tribune, telling thoſe who oppoſed him, that he had ſome important matters to communicate to *Gracchus*. The Lictors having made way for him, and being come near to *Gracchus*, "Tribune, (ſaid he to him) the "rich are forming a conſpiracy againſt you in "the Senate; and, not having been able to per-"ſuade the Conſul to take part in their deſigns, "they have reſolved, with the aſſiſtance of a "number of ſlaves and freedmen, to put an end "to your life, who will preſently be here with "them

" them to execute their commands. However " intereſt may connect me with them, honour " and juſtice oblige me to diſcover to you ſo cruel " a reſolution, at which I ſhudder with horror, " and from which I moſt ſincerely wiſh you may " be able to ſecure yourſelf."

The friends of the Tribune were aſtoniſhed at the intelligence of *Flaccus*, and fearing every thing in ſo tumultuous an aſſembly, inſtantly ſeized the arms of the Lictors, and drove away all thoſe who were too near him. This proceeding, for which no reaſon could be heard, on account of the noiſe and tumult, ſurpriſed thoſe at a diſtance. They enquired what this violence could mean, and the cries of thoſe who aſked, and thoſe who endeavoured to reply, were mixed in ſuch a manner with one another, that the confuſion became ſo great, as to make it impoſſible for the Tribune to be heard. In this ſituation, he had no other way of expreſſing his danger, with any hopes of being underſtood, than by pointing to his head, which was ſo much in danger from his enemies.

Many of his ill-wiſhers, who were preſent at this aſſembly, perverted the meaning of this token of his danger, innocent as it was, and cried out immediately, " The Tribune demands a " crown!" They then ran haſtily to the Senate with this falſe complaint, ſaying, " We have " ſeen him aſk the people for a royal diadem: he " has pointed to his head, as the place, on " which they ought to fix it."

Whether

Whether the Senate were ſhocked at the name of King, for which they had conceived a natural averſion, or whether, which is more probable, they made uſe of this as an argument to juſtify the violences, on which they had before reſolved, certain it is, they appeared inexpreſſibly irritated, and in a condition to undertake any thing.

Scipio Naſcica, who was illuſtrious by his birth, his riches, his great actions, and much conſequence in the Senate, had for a long time conceived much hatred againſt *Gracchus*, but for what cauſe hiſtory does not tell us; all we know is, that it was from ſome other reaſon, than the paſſing of that law, which had ſo much offended the great. He exclaimed with much bitterneſs againſt the enterpriſes of the Tribune: "There "is no longer time to deliberate, (ſaid he) "ſince he aſpires to tyranny. Conſul, it is your "duty to aſſiſt the public cauſe, and to extermi- "nate by force, without procedure or delay, "the invader of our liberty!"

The Conſul, who was a man of much wiſdom and penetration, anſwered, in the mildeſt and moſt diſpaſſionate manner, that a magiſtrate ought never to make uſe of violence, and that it ſhould never be ſaid of him, that he conſented to the death of a citizen before trial and judgment, eſpecially a citizen of ſuch rank and merit as *Gracchus*; but if "*Gracchus* and the people, (added "he) make unjuſt laws, and uſurp an authority, "which does not belong to them, I know how "to oppoſe their enterpriſes, and puniſh, in "council, the ſeditious and rebellious."

This

This ſhort, but reaſonable argument of a man of good ſenſe, contributed to raiſe the paſſion of *Naſcica* ſtill higher, who, turning towards the aſſembly, " ſince, (ſaid he) the ſupreme magi- " ſtrate abandons the republic, thoſe who wiſh " to preſerve it have only to follow me, and I " will be its powerful defender." He went out immediately, and tucking up his robe, as did all thoſe who followed him, which formed a conſiderable body, they ran in haſte to the capitol; and this company being headed by ſome of the moſt reſpectable people in the city, every one made way for them. Their ſervants and ſlaves armed themſelves with ſticks, which they collected as they paſſed, and with which they at laſt drove away every one who oppoſed their paſſage, and gave the republic, in the midſt of the profoundeſt peace, a perfect image of the horrors of war.

Wherever they met any of the friends or known acquaintances of the Tribune, they inſulted them, and even murdered ſome. Arriving at laſt at the capitol, the confuſion became general, and, under a pretence of ſeeking the Tribune, they knew not what diſorders were committed by that motly tribe of aſſaſſins who followed them, and who paid no reſpect to perſons.

Mean time every one fled, all the people were ſcattered, the friends of the Tribune bethought themſelves of their own ſafety, and *Gracchus*, ſeeing himſelf totally abandoned, had no other means left, than to follow his cowardly friends who forſook him, and whoſe fright had not left them

them the power of reflecting, that, with a little reſolution, it would not have been difficult to reſiſt this unarmed and confuſed troop. In his flight, he found himſelf held by the end of his robe, when he took the reſolution of quitting it to him that had ſeized it. What a diſgraceful ſight was this, and truly affecting, to ſee ſo many people flying without knowing why, and their firſt magiſtrate in the midſt of them!

A ſecond accident, more fatal than the firſt, again ſtopped the Tribune: the precipitation, with which every one fled, occaſioned ſome of thoſe foremoſt in the flight to fall to the ground: thoſe who followed, being preſſed upon by others behind them, had not time to allow thoſe who were already down time to riſe, but were themſelves unavoidably tumbled over them. Unfortunately, *Gracchus* was among thoſe, who had no longer the power of properly uſing the uſe of their limbs, ſo neceſſary to the Tribune in particular on this occaſion.

It was then that one of his colleagues in office, *Publius Saturerius*, who had alwas been jealous of his authority, and perhaps gained over by the nobles, gave him the firſt blow on the head with a ſtick: this was ſoon followed by another from *Lucius Reſus*, who afterwards made it his boaſt, as though it had been a glorious action. An infinite number of blows followed this laſt; and thus died, without uttering a word, without making any reſiſtance, or ſhewing the leaſt ſign of fear at approaching death, the famous *Tiberius Gracchus*, and grandſon of *Scipio*, before the thirtieth

thirtieth year of his age: a republican, the moſt beloved by the people, the moſt hated by the great, and the wonder and admiration of all.

It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſo violent a commotion as this was not ſoon quieted: the fury continued ſome time; for ſeveral of the friends of *Gracchus*, being recovered from their firſt panic, armed themſelves with ſuch weapons as firſt came to hand, and renewed the combat, in which were killed, on one ſide or the other, upwards of three hundred citizens; and all this effuſion of blood, without the aſſiſtance of military weapons.

This was the firſt bloody ſedition that *Rome* had ſeen ſince the expulſion of her Kings: all the other diſſentions, however violent they appeared, were appeaſed by the deference and reſpect, which the people had for the Senate, and by the condeſcenſions of the Senate to the people. Here matters were carried on both ſides to extremity: The Tribune gave up nothing, however trifling, which he thought the right and property of the people; and the Senate, on their part, were as little ſollicitous to accommodate matters with the Tribune: thus the diſſentions between theſe two parties at laſt ended in the effuſion of the blood of *Roman* citizens.

Naſcica accompliſhed his revenge on the Tribune, by the moſt dangerous of all expedients, and which might have totally deſtroyed the republic, ſince, by his means, the principal actors in this ſcene of trouble were ſlaves and freedmen, who, having nothing to loſe, could not fail of finding

finding their account in this general conſternation: nor can any thing more clearly prove the injuſtice of the authors of theſe diſturbances, than the ſhameful marks they gave of their malice and revenge after the death of the Tribune: for, beſides throwing his body into the river, together with all thoſe who fell in his defence, (an eternal monument of *Roman* cruelty!) they put to death, without any public trial, many of his friends, among whom were *Diophanes*, the Rhetorician, and one *Caius Billius*, whom they ſhut up in a tun, with ſerpents and vipers; and thereby ſhewed themſelves capable of a ſpecies of cruelty, which could have been expected only from the moſt barbarous and uncultivated ſavages.

We muſt not here forget what paſſed with reſpect to the famous *Bloſſius*, who was brought to the Senate ſoon after the firſt rage was abated. Being interrogated upon what had happened, he undauntedly acknowledged, that he had done every thing which *Tiberius Gracchus* had commanded him. *Naſcica* even now could not patiently ſee the fidelity of this man, which ſeemed ſo ſtrong a proof of the merit of his friend: "What, (ſaid he to him) if he had commanded "you to ſet fire to the capitol, would you then "have done it?" *Bloſſius* very compoſedly replied, "He was incapable of ordering me to do any "ſuch thing." But replied many of the enemies of *Gracchus*, "If he had commanded you to do "ſo?"—"I would have done it, (ſaid he) for "he would have commanded it only for the "advantage of the *Roman* people."

Such

Such an immovable and uncommon fidelity in a friend made ſome impreſſions on the Senate, unjuſt and furious as they were; and, though exaſperated to the higheſt degree againſt the adherents of *Gracchus*, the Conſul founds means to ſave *Bloſſius*, who retired into *Aſia*, where he ſoon laid violent hands on himſelf, not being able to ſurvive the thoughts of ſuch a perpetual ſuceſſion of misfortunes, as attended all thoſe to whom he had attached himſelf.

The people, however, appearing by no means ſatisfied, ſome dangerous attempt was feared from their inquietude, and the Senate was obliged, in order to pacify them, to conſent publickly to the law. To ſhew their reſentment to the Senate, in a ſtill higher degree, they elected, in the room of *Tiberius*, whom the great had murdered, *Craſſus*, father-in-law of *Caius*, brother of the late Tribune, into the office of commiſſary for the diſtribution of the lands; and the Senate, to remove *Scipio Naſcica* from the danger, to which the hatred and frequent inſults of the people every day expoſed him, found means to ſend him into *Aſia*. There, in a kind of exile, through the horror and remorſe which he felt, on the recollection of the murders he had committed, and the ſedition he had excited, his ſpirits failed him, and he died at *Pergamus* in a delirium, loaded with the heavieſt imprecations of the people, who never ceaſed to accuſe him of the murder of a Magiſtrate, in the moſt holy and venerable temple of the city; for as ſuch they conſidered the capitol.

CHAP.

CHAP IX.

Concluſion of the Hiſtory of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.

THE conſequence of the death of *Tiberius Gracchus* was the beginning of all thoſe civil wars among the *Romans*, which were never long diſcontinued from that time to the total ſubverſion of the republic.

We may eaſily ſuppoſe what effect this murder had on the mind of *Caius Gracchus*, his brother, a young man, then about twenty-one years of age; but who, even in that early period of life, gave ſtriking inſtances of his elevated ſentiments and noble inclinations, ſuch as he had imbibed from the ſame education, which he, as well as his late brother, had received from his mother, and the recent example of the aſſaſſinated Tribune.

He returned from *Numantia*, where he ſerved under *Scipio*, at the time of the death of his brother *Tiberius*, and lived ſome time in the tranquility of a private life, which gave every one reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he was as much averſe to public affairs, as his brother had been fond of them. He applied himſelf, with indefatigable diligence,

to

to the ſtudy of eloquence, in which he ſurpaſſed all the orators of his time, and fell not in the leaſt ſhort of his brother. The firſt proof which he gave of his eloquence, was in defending his friend *Vectius* before the people, who ſeemed ſo delighted with his pleadings, that the great, avowed enemies to his family, formed from thence the moſt unfavourable preſages.

He paid no attention, however, to theſe firſt marks of popular applauſe; and whether, as *Cicero* writes, he was perfectly well contented at being at a diſtance from the adminiſtration of affairs, or whether he imagined, that, on account of his youth, he had need of acquiring more credit and reputation, he went into *Sardinia*, where he ſerved in quality of Queſtor, under the Conſul *Oreſtes*. He there diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour, his liberality and clemency—qualities which acquired the hearts of the ſoldiers and of the people of that province. He obtained corn from one of the Kings of *Africa*, named *Micipſa*, whoſe ambaſſadors, on their arrival at *Rome*, told the Senate, that their King had ſent corn to their army in *Sardinia* out of reſpect to *Gracchus*; which ſo irritated that infamous ſet of men, that they conſidered themſelves from that time as bound to deſtroy him, to avoid diſorders like thoſe which his brother had occaſioned.

It was without doubt for this reaſon, that he was accuſed of having taken part in a conſpiracy, diſcovered in the city of *Fregellas*, which was quaſhed and puniſhed by the Pretor *Opimus*, who

was

was afterwards the author of the deſtruction of *Caius Gracchus*. It is not known for certainty, whether he had or not any hand in the revolt of theſe people; but *Opimus*, who was entirely devoted to the Senate, publiſhed, and endeavoured to perſuade all the world, that he was the principal author and accomplice of the *Fregillians*, who would have never dared to attempt a rebellion, had they not been aſſured of a powerful protector, who could give them hopes of the favour of the *Roman* people. It is certain, at leaſt, that he had need of all his innocence and truth, or the appearance of them, at leaſt, to remove from the minds of the people, impreſſions ſo pernicious to his reputation, and which were perhaps abſolutely falſe and groundleſs.

The jealouſy he obſerved in the ſenate, the injuſtice and baſeneſs of thoſe, who, to ruin him, had falſely accuſed him of the conſpiracy, the love which the people had more than once ſhewn him, the deſire of revenging the unmerited death of his brother, the fear of not being able to avoid the ſnares laid for him by his enemies, and perhaps a dream, which he is ſaid to have had, obliged him, (in ſpite of that inclination which *Cicero* gave him) to embark in public affairs, and to canvas for the Tribunate of the people, which was the only employment adapted to his great deſigns.

Hardly ten years had paſſed ſince the death of his brother, when he canvaſſed for the Tribunate. He was in perſon well made, and of a command-

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ing and majeſtic ſtature; his words naturally flowed from him with eaſe and freedom, and the tone of his voice was harmonious and agreeable; he was a little grave and ſerious; but he knew how on occaſion to be otherwiſe, and his civilities were ſuch, as made him on a level with all mankind; inſtructed in all the ſciences and polite arts, he was equally maſter of the adminiſtration of affairs in either war, juſtice, or government; he was beſides expeditious, finiſhing in a day or two, what others would be employed in a month; his manners were pure and irreproachable; patient, when he acted in concert with others, almoſt to an apparent inſenſibility; ſober, amidſt the delicacies which ſurrounded him; an enemy to lies and calumny; a perfect imitator of his brother in his love for equity, which would never permit him to ſuffer the leaſt injuſtice, without unmaſking and purſuing it, under whatever veil it was diſguiſed, and however powerfully ſupported; ſevere to himſelf and others, in which he differed from his brother, who confined all his auſterity to himſelf alone; he tranſacted all buſineſs himſelf, knowing that others would not take the like pains; and even his enemies were forced to admire with what readineſs he anſwered, at the ſame time, foreign Ambaſſadors, Officers of war, Magiſtrates of Juſtice, Men of Letters, and all kinds of Artiſts, Maſons, Sculptors, *&c.* who had conſtantly ſome buſineſs with him. Such as we have deſcribed him, and with the advantage of a name

dear

dear to the people, it is not at all ſurpriſing that he obtained the Tribunate. An infinite concourſe of people came from all parts to this election, who ſhewed marks of the higheſt pleaſure in giving him their voice. The rich and noble in vain endeavoured to fruſtrate the election of a man, whom they very well knew was ſo much beloved, and in whom they ſaw abilities that would not fail of proving hurtful to their intereſt.

Indeed, no ſooner was he elected, than he began to convince the world how much he felt for the aſſaſſination of his brother, and his office gave him an opportunity of every day repeating it in his harrangues. *Caius*, however, contented himſelf at firſt with paſſing two edicts. By the firſt, he declared every man infamous, who had been depoſed from any magiſterial office. It is eaſy to ſee, that he intended by this to ſully the reputation of *Octavius*, who had been depoſed by his brother; but he afterwards revoked this edict at the ſollicitation of his mother *Cornelia*. By the ſecond edict he declared, that every magiſtrate, who had exiled a *Roman* citizen, without obſerving the common courſe of law, ſhould be reſponſible for his conduct to the people, to whom the right of judgment in ſuch matters properly belonged. This edict was deſigned to bring *Popilius* into trouble, who, being Pretor, had exiled all the friends of his brother; but *Popilius*, without waiting the judgment of the people, baniſhed himſelf for a long time.

Theſe two edicts, being favourably received,

were ſoon followed by ſeveral others, all in favour of the people, which he publiſhed one after another, and which, all together, abſolutely changed the form of government in the republic. He ordered, by one, the re-peopling of many cities; by another, he extended the right of *Roman* citizens to all the inhabitants of *Italy*, even to the *Alps*, by which he conſiderably diminiſhed the price of corn in favour of the poor; and, laſtly, he confirmed by another, (more conſiderable than any of the reſt, and which his brother had not been able to accompliſh) that there ſhould be added to the Senators a like number of Knights, with an equality of power to judge of matters brought before them: ſo that this edict being paſſed, there were added to the three hundred Senators, which compoſed that body, three hundred *Roman* Knights, the choice of which the people left to the Tribune. Thus he became abſolute maſter of the city.

After accompliſhing all this, we may eaſily ſuppoſe how great were the reſpects the Senate found themſelves obliged to pay to a man, whom they privately deteſted, whom they then ſaw abſolute maſter of the ſtate, and on whom it was difficult and dangerous to make any attempts at that time. The death of his brother, ſtill freſh in his memory, induced him to take all precautions imaginable, and the people appeared ready to overturn and deſtroy every thing on the firſt attempt of the nobles.

Every one paid their addreſs to him on all occaſions:

occaſions: the Senate was obliged to conſult him in their decrees, fearing leaſt he ſhould make the people annul them; and, being charged with the management of the roads, the re-peopling of cities, and the reſtoration of the almoſt expiring arts, he was ſeen labouring, with indefatigable diligence, in a number of different affairs at one time, all which he executed with aſtoniſhing facility.

Thoſe, who envied and hated him, in vain ſought to find ſome miſconduct in his management of ſo many different affairs; but he was irreproachable, as he did every thing himſelf, and truſted to no one elſe. The beauty of the roads, which he had cauſed to be repaired, excited the admiration of every one. Of all the important ſervices he did the people, this ſeems to be the leaſt that merited their acclamations: It was this, however, which determined them to promiſe him any thing he ſhould demand. He made a proper uſe of this diſpoſition of the people, and in one of his orations, after thanking the multitude, told them he had one favour to aſk, which he paſſionately wiſhed to obtain. Many imagined, that he would demand the Conſular dignity, and the confirmation of the Tribunate at the ſame time; but they were ſurpriſed, when he deſired only, that they would chuſe for Conſul, his friend, *Caius Fannius*. This apparent mark of diſintereſtedneſs encreaſed his popularity: they accordingly granted him his requeſt for *Fannius*, and confirmed him in the office of Tribune for the ſucceeding year, without his aſking for that

honour, though it had never before been known to be given to any perſon whatever, who had not ſollicited for it.

The Senate ſaw to what height the power of *Gracchus* was raiſed, which they conſidered as very little inferior to royalty. They had tried all expedients imaginable to deſtroy or reduce it: after many fruitleſs attempts, and after having in vain employed every expedient that ſeemed likely to effect their deſigns, they at laſt bethought themſelves of a plan, which, though it would appear the moſt contrary to their intereſt, would be the moſt proper to anſwer their views, as it would be the leaſt ſuſpected. Indeed, this reſolution of the Senate appears to be a maſter-piece in the politics of thoſe times.

They courted the friendſhip of *Livius Druſus*, a colleague of *Caius Gracchus* in the Tribunate, a man of diſtinguiſhed merit, and extremely well reſpected by both orders; but who, undoubtedly was not wholly free from thoſe ſentiments of envy and jealouſy, which the authority of *Gracchus* naturally raiſed in thoſe, who, though they had a legal right to an equality of power, were obliged to ſubmit to *Caius* in every thing. The Senators then repreſented to him the tottering ſtate of the republic, through the unlimited power of *Gracchus*, whom nothing could reſiſt, and who would infallibly ſoon deſtroy the liberty of *Rome*. "You muſt therefore, (ſaid they to "him) be cautious how you oppoſe his laws, as "*Octavius* did thoſe of his brother: It coſt him "his reputation, and finiſhed the ruin of the

"affairs

" affairs of the Senate. It will be neceſſary, " on the contrary, to add to all the laws, which " he may publiſh in favour of the people, how- " ever advantageous they may appear: thus, " when he propoſes repopulating two or three " cities, you muſt propoſe a dozen; when he " fixes a low price on corn to be ſold to the poor, " you muſt diminiſh it ſtill more; and in this " manner you muſt act upon every favourable op- " portunity. You will by this method render " his flattery of the people of no uſe to him; for " the people, in proportion as your favours will " be greater than his, will be obliged to love " you the more, and you will ſoon be enabled " to reconcile them to the Senate, (whoſe de- " ſtruction is the ſole view of *Caius*) if you per- " ſuade them, that what you do in their favour " is with the conſent and advice of the order of " Senators."

This ſcheme ſucceeded wonderfully: *Livius Druſus* flattered the people, the people loved *Druſus*, and began no longer to hate the Senate. What encreaſed their eſteem for *Druſus* was, that he conſtantly refuſed all the commiſſions they offered him for the execution of his edicts; whereas *Gracchus*, on the contrary, took the adminiſtration of all matters on himſelf, which bringing him in vaſt ſums of money, it failed not to raiſe him, however irreproachable he was, ſlanderers and calumniators. On his undertaking the reeſtabliſhment of *Carthage*, deſtroyed ſome time before by *Scipio*, he was obliged to paſs into *Africa*;

which was one of the greateſt faults *Gracchus* ever committed. His enemies were at that time, which he himſelf well knew, putting every act in practice to deſtroy his favour with the people, and, by quitting his party, he left his intereſt to the caprice of a fickle and inconſtant populace.

There is no reaſon to doubt, that *Druſus* made the beſt uſe of the abſence of *Gracchus*. His departure was immediately preceded by an event, which conſiderably contributed to leſſen his credit; and this is a period of his life, which thoſe would find moſt difficult to juſtify, who ſhould wiſh to repreſent him as perfectly innocent. It was the death of the ſecond *Scipio*, which happened while *M. Aquilius* and *C. Sempronius* were Conſuls. This man, as he was the moſt eſteemed, ſo was he the greateſt in the republic: He was found dead in his houſe, without any other appearance of the cauſe of his death, than ſome ſlight contuſions, which were difficult to be ſeen.

Fulvius, an enemy of this illuſtrious man, with whom he had quarelled the day before, in his public harrangue in the capitol, was ſuſpected of being the author of this murder. This ſuſpicion appeared the more reaſonable, as *Fulvius* was a violent and ſeditious man, capable of the baſeſt action, and who, ſuſpecting with reaſon, that the reputation of *Scipio* was greater than his own, had reſolved to deſtroy him. *C. Gracchus*, the intimate friend of *Fulvius*, whom he himſelf had procured to be appointed one of the commiſſaries for the diviſion of the lands, was not free from the

the ſuſpicion of having had a ſhare in this murder. The oppoſite connections of *Scipio* and *Gracchus* were well known; nor was any one a ſtranger to the diſguſt *Caius* had conceived againſt him for his approbation of the murder of his brother: it had long been obſerved, how weighty were the obſtacles, which *Scipio* threw into the oppoſite ſcale of the enterpriſes of *Caius*; and it had likewiſe been reported, that *Sempronia*, who was the wife of *Scipio*, and the ſiſter of *Gracchus*, had made a trial of ſome poiſon. It was beſides judged, that *Fulvius*, whom they no longer doubted of being an accomplice in the murder, would not have attempted ſuch an act, unleſs he had been promiſed the ſupport of ſome perſon, capable of calming the minds of the people. Indeed, the people, who ſtill adored *Gracchus*, fearing they ſhould find him concerned in the murder, put off all enquiry into the matter; and thus the death of this great *Roman* (who, after having been twice Conſul, after having taken *Carthage* and *Numantia*, the terrors of *Rome*, after many triumphs, and many glorious actions, ſaw his country raiſed above all the ſtates of the world by his own invincible arm) was neither revenged, or ſo much as enquired into!—Such was the exceſs of the love of the people for *Gracchus!*

The ſilence of the people did not, however, prevent the Senate exclaiming againſt ſuch an action; and, at laſt, the popularity of *Caius* ſeemed much diminiſhed in the minds of many reaſonable perſons, who began in reality to ſuſ-

pect him as the cauſe of that infamous deed. Certainty ſoon followed their ſuſpicions; for they very reaſonably concluded, that he would himſelf have been deſirous of clearing up this matter, and thereby removing the guilt imputed to him, had he been conſcious of his innocence.

Thoſe, who have really believed him the author of, or the accomplice in, this murder, have argued in his defence, that all *Scipio*'s family had been concerned in the conſpiracy againſt his brother, of which *Naſcica* had been the executioner, and from thence have concluded, that this bloody deed was in ſome meaſure to be juſtified.

Affairs were in this ſtate, while he was preparing to depart for *Carthage*, which he afterwards called *Junonia*. Many believed, that he thought it prudent to leave *Rome*, to efface from his memory by abſence the ideas of his crime, and to chaſe the frightful images from his mind, which conſtantly repreſented themſelves to him in a place, where he had every day ſo much cauſe for horror and remorſe.

Druſus, in the mean time, taking the advantage of his abſence, laboured inceſſantly to ruin him in the affections of the people. He took care, however, never to declare againſt him; but after having flattered this laſt order, in granting them the moſt extravagant favours, he imagined he ſhould give a mortal ſtab to the eſteem they had for *Gracchus*, in exclaiming againſt *Fulvius*, whom every one knew to be the intimate friend of the abſent Tribune.

He obſerved great caution in his declamations againſt

againſt *Fulvius*; for, in the deſign he had formed of throwing a great part of the public hatred of *Fulvius* on *Gracchus*, he took care cautiouſly to conceal his intentions; and for this purpoſe never ſpoke of the death of *Scipio*, but in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to throw the whole of the guilt on *Fulvius*, fearing he ſhould revive in the memory of the people, what they wiſhed to forget in favour of *Caius*. He accuſed nobody but *Fulvius* of adviſing the people of *Italy* to revolt, and of having ſollicited the allies to break through treaties: he repreſented him as a man of a factious diſpoſition, whom neither the conſular dignity, with which he had been honoured, nor the favours, which the Senate and the people had ſo often beſtowed on him, could bring him to the love of a peaceful life: he conſidered him as a man, who was naturally haſty and violent, always ſeeking to reap advantages from public diſorders, and thereby repair his fortune, which had been totally ruined by his party cabals and continued debaucheries.

Every one knew the character of *Fulvius*, and they remembered the aſſaſſination of *Scipio* the more, in proportion as *Druſus* endeavoured to conceal it. The people declared themſelves openly againſt him, and ordered him to be brought to a legal trial.

Thus the affairs of *Gracchus* were totally ruined by the diſgrace of a man, who had been his creature. He received in *Africa* the news of this unexpected change, and thinking it adviſeable to

return immediately, he arrived at *Rome*, after an abſence of ſeventy days. On his arrival, he perceived his fault in leaving the city, and endeavoured to repair it, by quitting his houſe on Mount *Palatine*, and living in a quarter, which was more convenient for him to ingratiate himſelf again with the people. In order to recover their good graces, he immediately publiſhed the remainder of thoſe laws, which he had before projected: theſe were all of them oppoſite and very hurtful to the Senate.

It is difficult to perceive how much the people, who had almoſt forgotten him, and who in his abſence had fallen in with the views of *Druſus*, were changed on ſeeing him, and with what marks of ſatisfaction and joy they received him.—A change in human nature, which is almoſt every day to be met with, and which generally proves fatal to thoſe who are not guarded againſt it.

He immediately appointed a day for the confirmation of theſe laws; and there arrived, on this occaſion, ſo great a number of ſtrangers in *Rome*, that there appeared no doubt of the ſucceſs of any thing, which *Gracchus* ſhould think proper to propoſe. The Senate, to baffle the intentions of this multitude, perſuaded the Conſul to order, by ſound of trumpet, that all who were not *Romans* by birth ſhould quit the city on that day; and this was the firſt time, that their friends, allies, and even ſome of the citizens themſelves, were ordered to leave the city.

Gracchus, as Tribune, publicly annulled this command

command of the Conſul, and permitted all thoſe, who choſe it, to remain in the city: he even promiſed to protect them againſt any inſults that ſhould be offered, which he did not punctually execute; for the Conſul's Lictors having put a ſtranger in priſon, he took no notice of it. It may be, that he thought himſelf not ſtrong enough to oppoſe it, or that he feared immediately kindling the flame of a civil war. It is however certain, that he paſſed it unnoticed, which hurt him conſiderably in the minds of the people.

Opimus, notwithſtanding the intereſt of the Tribune, was elected Conſul, who was wholly devoted to the Senate, and the implacable enemy of *Gracchus* ever ſince the inſurrection at *Fregelles*. Being determined to purſue the Tribune, the day after his election, he annulled many of his laws, and among others, that for the re-peopling of *Carthage*, for which he repreſented *Gracchus* as reſponſible.

This bold and dauntleſs conduct of a man, who was known to be naturally as obſtinate as enterpriſing, gave every reaſon to fear the calamities, which ſeemed inevitably to threaten the Republic with blood and ſlaughter. *Gracchus*, on his part, having aſſembled his friends, among whom *Fulvius* was the firſt, reſolved to collect as large a body as poſſible to oppoſe the violence of the Conſul, who had juſt cauſed a body of ſoldiers, wholly devoted to his intereſt, to enter the city. There was no room left to doubt of the approaching misfortunes, eſpecially ſince *Cornelia*, the

the mother of *Gracchus*, had herſelf exhorted him, in public, by no means to put up with the inſults of the Conſul; but to remember, that the ſame ſpirit, and the ſame fate, which his brother had ſupported and ſuffered, were reſerved for him likewiſe; as for herſelf, whatever grief ſuch a loſs might occaſion her, ſhe ſhould however conſole herſelf in the recollection, that ſhe had given birth to two children, who both died in defence of the public liberty.

Matters were in this ſtate, when the day fixed for confirming the Tribune's law arrived, and the two parties met early in the morning at the capitol. There the Conſul *Opimus* made a ſacrifice to the Gods, when one of the Lictors, who bore the entrails of the victim, paſſing near *Fulvius*, "Make way, (ſaid he) bad citizen as "thou art, for thy betters." He accompanied theſe words with ſome threatening geſtures, which irritated *Fulvius*, and the people ſtill more than him. The latter ſo highly reſented the inſolence of the Lictor, who had dared to inſult, in the moſt indignant manner, a man of Conſular authority, that they fell upon him, and killed him immediately. *Caius Gracchus* ſeverely reprimanded the people for what they had done; but *Opimus* paid no regard to his diſavowal of this accident, and repreſented, with his uſual intrepidity, that nothing could be peaceable under the magiſtracy of the *Gracchi*, ſince the moſt holy ſacrifices were polluted by the murder of thoſe who aſſiſted at them. A heavy ſhower of

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rain falling on a ſudden, ſeparated the people, and prevented matters coming to a concluſion that day.

The next day, *Opimus* aſſembled the Senate very early in the morning, and took care to have the dead body of the Lictor expoſed at the door of the hall. He demanded juſtice of the Senate for this murder. There were, however, among them ſome wiſe and diſpaſſionate perſons, who repreſented, that however blameable the murderers of the Lictor might be, they ought nevertheleſs to conſider, that the Tribune had no ſhare in it, and that, on the contrary, he had ſeverely reprimanded thoſe, who were the cauſe of it: beſides, that the Lictor had drawn this fate on himſelf, by an unwarrantable inſolence to a perſon of Conſular dignity; and that, after all, it was but very lately that they had ſeen *Tiberius Gracchus* publickly aſſaſſinated, and his body thrown into the *Tiber*, without the leaſt attempt in any one to bring the murderers to juſtice; and that it would be ſhewing too glaring a partiality, to revenge the death of ſo mean a perſon as a Lictor, ſince the aſſaſſination of a Tribune had been ſuffered to paſs unnoticed.

This kind of reaſoning had very little weight with the major part of the Senate, who, animated by *Opimus*, and the hatred they had for *Caius*, paſſed a decree, by which, in conſideration of the urgent neceſſity of the times, they inveſted the Conſul with abſolute power, giving him authority to treat his enemies as he ſhould think

proper,

proper, without going through the tedious forms of law; to do the beſt he could for the intereſt of the republic, and to exterminate tyrants. Such was the decree of the Senate, or, to ſpeak more properly, ſuch was the ſignal for battle, and the introduction to carnage; for *Opimus*, who had reſolved on the deſtruction of *Gracchus*, making a proper uſe of the authority he had received, ordered all the Senators to take up arms, and commanded the *Roman* knights to attend early the next morning, each accompanied by two ſervants armed, at the capitol, to act there as the neceſſities of the republic ſhould require.

Fulvius, on the other ſide, collected all the ſtrength he could; but the people, on whom they had ſo much relied, forſook the Tribune immediately after the laſt decree of the Senate. *Gracchus*, reflecting on the ingratitude of thoſe, whom he had ſo warmly defended, could not help expreſſing his grief on the occaſion. Being come to the ſtatue of his father, he there ſtopped, and thus addreſſed it: "You gave me birth to ſup-
" port that people, whom you left free: I have
" omitted nothing to preſerve that freedom. My
" brother has periſhed in the cauſe; and I ſhall
" periſh alſo, involved in ſorrowful reflections on
" the peoples inſenſibility of that, which will
" coſt me my life."

This affecting addreſs in ſome meaſure rouſed the ſleeping courage of the populace; and many joining the troops the Tribune had in the city, part of them kept guard at the houſes of *Gracchus*

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and *Fulvius*; and, on the other ſide, there was one at the houſe of the Conſul. Thus there was ſeen in *Rome* all the appearance and parade of war, in which the enemies were citizens againſt citizens. The troops of the Tribune armed themſelves with the ſpoils of the *Gauls*, whom *Fulvius* had conquered when Conſul. Theſe arms were fixed to the walls of his houſe, in token of his former victory, which the people having received with loud ſhouts, they haſtened to ſeize on *Mount Aventine*.

The Tribune, however, revolved in his mind all the approaching misfortunes, and conceived a juſt horror for the blood, which would be ſhed on this melancholy occaſion. He perſuaded *Fulvius* to ſend to the Conſul the youngeſt of his children, who was of extraordinary beauty, to demand terms of peace and accommodation. The child accordingly went to the Senate with a caduce in his hand, which was the mark of ſafeguard given to Heralds. He preſented himſelf with the greateſt humiliation to *Opimus*; and, after having ſhewn by his tears the grief he felt for the preſent diſorders, he told them, that he came to receive words of peace and reconciliation.

The greater part of the Senate were of opinion, that deputies ought to be ſent to the Tribune and *Fulvius*, that matters might be accommodated, and *Roman* blood ſpared; but *Opimus*, who knew their weakneſs by this mark of ſubmiſſion, anſwered, with all the authority with which they had inveſted him, that it was not for criminals

and

and rebels to treat of peace or reconciliation, merely to amuſe the Senate; but, if they would come themſelves in an humble manner, and ſubmit to juſtice, perhaps the Senate might be ſoftened with compaſſion, and pardon them a part of their crimes. He forbad any more meſſages being brought him, unleſs it was that of their ſubmiſſion to what he had juſt preſcribed.

The Tribune would have gone himſelf to remonſtrate with the Senate on ſuch injuſtice and violence, had he not been prevented by his party. He was, however, contented with once more ſending the young ſon of *Fulvius*, whom the Conſul ordered to be ſtopped without condeſcending to hear him; and, being eager for battle, marched with his troops againſt *Fulvius*, who, with the utmoſt grief, ſaw all his conduct and valour of no ſervice; for his people ſtood not a moment the attack of the Conſul; ſo that he was obliged to think of his own ſafety in flight, and being found in a little bath, where he had concealed himſelf, he was killed with his eldeſt ſon.

The good ſucceſs of *Opimus* terrified all the Tribune's party; and the offer of a free pardon, which the Conſul ordered to be publiſhed, to all thoſe who ſhould abandon the intereſt of *Caius*, completed his ruin; for this defender of the people, this man, who had ſo many thouſand citizens under his protection, had only a few friends left. It is, however, much matter of aſtoniſhment, that *Caius*, who had given ſo many marks of his ſpirit and valour, ſhould ſhew ſo much indolence

lence and inſenſibility on this occaſion. He entered the Temple of *Diana*, "O Goddeſs, "(ſaid he) grant that the people, for whom I "fall a ſacrifice, may for ever feel the effects of "their ingratitude, and that the fetters, which "they have now forged for themſelves, may "hold them in eternal ſlavery!" A wiſh, which was afterwards too fully accompliſhed. He then drew his ſword, and would have killed himſelf; but two of his moſt faithful friends prevented him, and encouraged him to fly. He followed their advice; and it was in this flight, that *Pomponius* and *Licinius* performed many glorious actions to prevent the Tribune's being taken, when his enemies purſued him. At laſt, giving over every thing for loſt, all his friends being dead or taken, with the grief of a man abandoned and betrayed by thoſe, whoſe cauſe he had defended, he threw himſelf into a grove conſecrated to the *Furies*, where his ſervant *Philocrates* ſlew him, and himſelf at the ſame time.

Thoſe who purſued cut off his head; and, as it had been promiſed, that whoever ſhould bring it, or that of *Fulvius*, to *Opimus*, they ſhould have the weight of it in gold, they took out the brains, and filled up the vacancy with lead, which made it weigh ſeventeen pounds. The body of *Gracchus*, together with three thouſand more, who periſhed in this unhappy contention, were thrown into the *Tiber*. *Licinia*, his wife, was ſtripped of her fortune; and, to complete their inhumanity, they put to death the young

ſon

ſon of *Fulvius*, whom they had ſtopped, and who was no otherwiſe culpable, than being the unfortunate ſon of the friend of the Tribune.

After all theſe cruelties, *Opimus*, glorying in his exploits, had the audaciouſneſs to build a temple, which he dedicated to *Concord*.—What *Concord*, which coſt the city ſo much blood! Soon after, he was accuſed of extortion, and convicted of treaſon in an embaſſy to King *Jugurtha*. He at laſt died loaded with public infamy, and the hatred of the people, who, grown ſenſible of their ingratitude, raiſed uſeleſs ſtatues to the memory of the *Gracchi*, and vainly conſecrated the places where they died.

Such were the enterpriſes and death of the two ſons of *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, grandſons of *Scipio*, who fell in the civil diſorders, in the life time of *Cornelia*, their mother. It is ſaid of them, that they might eaſily have obtained, by their own merit, what they vainly endeavoured to acquire by force and ſedition; and it is not yet decided, whether they were really culpable of ambition, or purely zealous for the liberty of the people.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Affairs of Marius and Sylla.

THE deſtruction of the *Gracchi* had not wholly the effects the Senate had propoſed; for the people, who had ſo ſhamefully abandoned the protectors of their liberty and power, were ſtruck with horror at the recollection of thoſe inglorious ſcenes which had paſſed, and ſhewed in all places, and by all poſſible means, the eſteem and affection they reſerved for the memory of thoſe two men, who had fallen victims to their intereſt.

What appeared moſt dangerous to the Senate, in this recollection of the people, was their deſire of placing ſome perſon in the room of the deceaſed Tribune. They every where ſought for a proper object, who would undertake the care of being at the head of a party: they promiſed a perfect fidelity, and as much reſolution and conſtancy, as they had lately ſhewn timidity and levity.

No one, however, of any credit and conſideration in the republic, ſeemed any ways inclined, at that time, to truſt to ſo fickle a multitude, who had given ſuch recent examples of their treachery and cowardice. Thoſe, who wiſhed moſt

moſt for this employment, prudently ſtifled their deſires, and put off, till a more favourable opportunity, the execution of thoſe ſchemes, with which their ambition had inſpired them. The people, finding themſelves thus without a Chief, had recourſe to the Tribunes, the uſual avengers of their quarrels, proteſting that they would receive, without heſitation or canvaſs, any man, who ſhould dare to declare for them.

The Tribunes, however, to ſatisfy the people, iſſued terrible edicts againſt thoſe who had taken any part in the murder of *Gracchus*; but the Senate was ſo powerful, that thoſe edicts proved of no effect: for the great and rich had now raiſed themſelves to ſuch a pitch of power, as to bid defiance to all laws and magiſtrates. It is no wonder, that the people of a republic ſhould murmur at this prodigious inequality, ſince the luxury and magnificence of individuals far exceeded every thing, which had before been obſerved in their Kings.

The Cenſors in vain made ſome declarations againſt theſe abuſes, and, in ſome inſtances, gave a few examples of their rigour: nothing could recover the plant, which was rotten at its root; and the people, in the utmoſt deſpair, beheld the Senate eſtabliſhing their grandeur on the ſlavery of the republic. They groaned under the weighty yoke, and every where ſought for a perſon, from whom they might hope for relief. At this critical juncture a young man, of mean extraction,*

* Some hiſtorians ſay he was deſcended from a *Roman* Knight.

named

named *Marius*, believed that, deſtitute of fortune and quality, he could riſque nothing in declaring againſt the Nobles and the Senate, through whoſe favour he could never hope to make any conſiderable figure.

He then began to ſympathiſe with the people, and exclaimed againſt the luxury and inſupportable pride of the Senators. The people, who ſought only for ſomebody to eſpouſe their cauſe, followed *Marius*, and found him poſſeſſed of ſuch ſentiments as correſponded with their own. They made him Tribune, and gave him a thouſand proofs how little they regarded the Senators. They ſoon after appointed him Lieutenant to *Metellus*, who was then going againſt *Jugurtha*.

It was in this war that he ſupplanted his General, came to *Rome* to get himſelf elected Conſul, took the command of the army from *Metellus*, and procured it to be given to himſelf by the people, who began to conſider him in the ſame light as they had formerly the *Gracchi*. He had not, however, the honour of finiſhing this war; for *Lucius Sylla* his Queſtor, having made uſe of deceit towards *Marius*, as *Marius* had towards *Metellus*, purchaſed the friendſhip of *Bocchus*, King of Upper *Numidia*, and grandfather of *Jugurtha*. By this treacherous proceeding, *Bocchus* delivered up his grandſon into the hands of the *Romans*; which *Sylla* believed ſo glorious an exploit, that he had it engraved on a ſtone, which he generally uſed as a ſeal. It is certain, that the poſſeſſion of this dangerous enemy did him the greater honour at *Rome*, as it was the leaſt expected, and the moſt wiſhed for. The

The enemies of *Marius* exclaimed very loudly, and ſaid, that the honours of the victory obtained over *Jugurtha* were due to *Metellus*, and the prize to *Sylla* only. The people, however, who loved *Marius*, and who knew that he had conducted this war with much valour and wiſdom, granted him the honour of a triumph, in which was ſeen, for the firſt time, in the perſon of *Jugurtha*, a ſlave crowned among captives.

It is eaſy to believe, that this action of *Sylla* engaged him in an eternal conteſt with *Marius*; and though *Sylla* was likewiſe beloved by the people, he had however reaſon to fear ſome fatal event, if he did not ſeek other protection; and he had no better recourſe, than making friends among the nobility, of which he was himſelf one by birth. Theſe took a pleaſure in ſupporting him againſt *Marius*, whoſe reputation daily encreaſing, gave room to fear he would ſoon become too powerful. Notwithſtanding the envy and hatred, which the great had conceived againſt *Marius*, no one dared openly to declare himſelf againſt him; and they were contriving in the aſſembly all poſſible means of deſtroying him, when news was brought to *Rome*, of the terrible invaſion of the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*; who, like a torrent, came to over-run the provinces of the republic, ſwallow up all *Italy*, and plunder the city.

Theſe people were in ſtature frightful, and their ferocity inexpreſſibly horrible. They came from the cold regions of the North, to ſeek lands

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and habitations in a milder climate, and conſiſted of three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides women, old men and children, out of number. The firſt report of this deſcent was treated at *Rome* as a mere fable; but, when it was confirmed by the defeat of their Generals, who commanded on the frontiers, the univerſal conſternation, which prevailed in the city, is beyond all credibility or deſcription. It may not be, perhaps, improper here to remark, that the *Romans*, who were with propriety conſidered as the moſt valiant and courageous people in the world, when engaged in diſtant wars, were the moſt timid and fearful at home.

The voice of party and faction was no longer heard in the ſtreets of *Rome*: every one concurred to chooſe *Marius*, to give him the management of this war, and the care of delivering *Italy* and the city from ſlavery and the utmoſt deſolation. They elected him Conſul for the ſecond time, contrary to law and cuſtom, which ordered, that a certain time ſhould intervene between the firſt and ſecond advancement to that dignity; and they even drove away, in a very rough manner, ſome indiſcrete Senators, who, either through their veneration for the ancient laws, or through hatred or folly, dared to oppoſe his election: every one cried out, that it was but a ſhort time ſince they had infringed on the ſame laws in favour of *Scipio*, and for much leſs reaſonable cauſes.

It muſt be confeſſed, that in the ſituation, in which

which the republic then was, there was no other General, who had capacity and reputation ſufficient to be entruſted with ſo important a commiſſion, as that of acting againſt theſe barbarians. Though, indeed, *Metellus* had all the military qualities in as great a proportion as could be wiſhed for, yet he was too far advanced in the evening of life to undertake the buſineſs of ſo painful an expedition. Never did any perſon arrive at *Rome* in more glory than *Marius*, who, as ſoon as he heard of the choice the people had made, brought back his army from *Lybia*, and entered *Rome*, leſs in character of a Conſul than a deliverer. After having triumphed for *Jugurtha* in a moſt ſplendid manner, he took his ſeat in the Senate, dreſſed in his triumphal robes, when he promiſed to preſerve the republic from the irruption of the barbarians, however numerous or valiant they might be.

He marched immediately to oppoſe their progreſs, and his conduct gave ſuch general ſatisfaction, that he was continued Conſul every year, without any one preſuming to oppoſe it. It was in the fourth year that he completely conquered the *Teutones*, near *Aix* in *Provence*, and his colleague, *Luctarius Catulus*, a ſhort time after, vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, unaſſiſted by *Marius*. At the beginning of the fifth conſulate of *Marius* the victory was completed, and *Marius*, being on the ſpot, pretended he had the greateſt glory of the ſucceſs of that day, though it is well known he had but a ſmall ſhare in it: the people, however,

however, who were prepoſſeſſed in his favour, attributed to him alone this happy ſucceſs, and even reſolved that he alone ſhould triumph.

Such was the glory of his fourth and fifth Conſulate, after which he ſtrongly canvaſſed for it a ſixth time, in oppoſition to *Metellus*, who could not hold out againſt him. It was then that he united himſelf to the Tribune, *Saturnius*, a man remarkable for the violence of his temper, and the hatred with which he perſecuted the Senate. At laſt, *Marius*, after his ſixth Conſulate, peace being almoſt eſtabliſhed throughout the provinces, thought it adviſeable to travel a little for his pleaſure.

During his abſence, *Sylla* was elected Conſul; that very *Sylla*, who had received *Jugurtha* from the hands of *Bocchus*, and who, having been at the defeat of the *Cimbri*, improved every opportunity of giving all the glory to *Catulus*, who indeed deſerved it. As it is here we muſt begin the affairs of *Marius* and *Sylla*, it ſeems neceſſary we ſhould firſt enquire into their characters, as from thence we may more eaſily judge of their actions and deſigns.

L. Cornelius Sylla (or *Sulla*, as found on ſome ancient monuments) was of the illuſtrious *Cornelian* Houſe, which was conſidered as the firſt in rank among the patricians. It is true indeed, that the branch, from which he was deſcended, was fallen into obſcurity, and in which we muſt aſcend as high as the ſixth generation to find a Conſul; we may alſo ſay, that he did not at firſt

aſpire to that height, to which his good ſucceſs afterwards led him.

With much ſpirit and learning, which appeared in his commentaries that he addreſſed to *Lucullus*, he had a wonderful eaſy method of doing every thing, and which he ſeemed to accompliſh without pain. He joined to this an exceſſive familiarity, which was blamed by ſome, while he gained the hearts of the lower people, whom he in fact deſpiſed; for, attached as he was to the nobility, he always ſacrificed the people to their intereſt, and held thoſe in no manner of account, who were not of the firſt order of the republic. He was extremely fond of pleaſure, and was an admirable maſter of the art of mixing the moſt toilſome labours, and the moſt ſerious affairs, with the higheſt charms of galantry, good chear, muſic and comedy. As great a man in the field as in the cabinet: he was always ſplendid and magnificent, and his manners were thoſe of a great and elevated perſon, which would not permit him to think himſelf reſponſible to any one for his conduct; though he always took ſome care to colour his actions in ſuch a manner, as to make them appear for the public good, without giving himſelf too much trouble about what they might really think of them. The end of his life ſhews us, that he had a moderation equal to his fortune, which was very great, ſince he abdicated the ſupreme authority, which he had acquired by ſo much blood and cruelty, as would be very difficult to juſtify.

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The firſt employment of any conſideration, with which he was entruſted, was that of Queſtor under *Marius*, in the war of *Jugurtha*, and we have already obſerved how he acted in that commiſſion. He was afterwards Lieutenant under the ſame *Marius*, in his ſecond Conſulate, and commanded a ſmall body detached by his orders. However, in the third Conſulate, a thouſand noble actions, which are related by all hiſtorians, acquired him the reputation of much valour, and ſo much reſpect was paid him on that account, as raiſed the jealouſy of *Marius*. Some ſlight marks of diſguſt, which accompanied this jealouſy, induced *Sylla* to paſs into the camp of *Catulus*, the colleague of *Marius*. It was under this Conſul, that he ſo much encreaſed his reputation in emulation of *Marius*. Being returned to *Rome*, he canvaſſed for the dignity of Pretor, which he obtained on the ſecond attempt, having loſt it the firſt. He became ſtill more illuſtrious by his courage and conduct in the wars of the allies; while *Marius*, by indolence and neglect, was loſing a part of that conſequence he before had acquired. At laſt, *Sylla*, favoured by a thouſand happy circumſtances, about the fiftieth year of his age, was elected Conſul, with the approbation of almoſt all the citizens, at the ſame time as the like honour was conferred on *Q. Pompeius*, a man of very great eſteem in the city. *Sylla* married, at the ſame time, *Cecilia*, daughter of *Metellus*, the ſovereign Pontiff, who was, beyond all diſpute, the firſt man in the Senate.

This honourable alliance attached him wholly to the order of Senators, and he then began to form deſigns, which he afterwards executed ſo happily for himſelf, and ſo cruelly for his country.

Mithridates, that famous King of *Pontus*, who, by a war which he had ſupported for forty years againſt the *Romans*, and by an obſtinate and invincible hatred to *Rome* (which has made him one of the moſt illuſtrious men in hiſtory) began to move towards the frontiers of the *Roman* provinces. As he had already made himſelf very troubleſome to ſome of the neighbouring Kings, who had vainly expected aſſiſtance from *Rome*, the *Romans* conjectured with much reaſon, that this war would be very dangerous and difficult, and as ſuch it was conſidered by *Sylla*, who was entruſted with the care of it; for the Conſul was well acquainted with the merits of that King, as he had ſeen and known him when he paſſed into *Aſia*, to replace *Ariobarzana* on the throne of *Cappadocia*; and it was there that *Sylla* ſpoke to him with ſo much dignity and grandeur, that *Mithridates*, naturally fierce and haughty, from that time conceived the deſign of reprimanding, ſhould he find himſelf able, that pride ſo peculiar to every *Roman*.

The grandeur, merit, and reputation of *Mithridates*, ſo far from giving pain to *Sylla*, flattered his vanity the more: he formed projects of victory, which appeared the more agreeable to him, in proportion as they would be difficult and glorious,

rious, and therefore undertook this expedition with the higheſt ſatisfaction.

Marius, who ſaw the ambitious deſigns of *Sylla*, and who knew the importance of this employ, began to careſs the people again with the greateſt warmth, and formed a cloſe connection in friendſhip with *Sulpicius*, one of the Tribunes, from whoſe aſſiſtance he could not fail of deriving many advantages. They conſulted together on the means they ſhould take, to deprive *Sylla* of the honours, which had been deſigned him; for they concluded with reaſon, that, ſhould he return conqueror of *Mithridates*, nothing would be able to keep pace with his pride and glory.

Sulpicius was a man of much true merit, and of great conſequence among the people, which he had acquired by an eloquence, and ſomething very agreeable in his perſon, which was difficult to reſiſt. He joined to theſe qualities every thing, which can be derived from good parents, ſenſible friends, and valuable poſſeſſions: the manner in which he employed them, left not any one the leaſt room to accuſe him of even the ſhadow of vice. All this rendered him ſo amiable in the eyes of the people, that he was always followed by crowds of them; and, having finely brought over to his intereſt the order of Knights, he formed of them as it were a guard, compoſed of ſix hundred, who followed him on all occaſions.

With this powerful ſupport, and the friendſhip of *Marius*, who was yet of very great weight,

and whoſe name alone commanded authority over the people, he publiſhed many laws very ſevere upon the nobles, and very prejudicial to their dignity. Such eſpecially was that, by which it was ordered, that no Senator ſhould be permitted to borrow above two hundred crowns. This law was infinitely inconvenient to them at a time, when that unparalleled grandeur, to which they were then accuſtomed, obliged them to expences, which their revenues could not ſupport.

Sylla, who was not yet departed for the war againſt *Mithridates*, and who, as Conſul, thought he had a right to ſeek remedies againſt the ſeverities of the Tribune, many times aſſembled the Senate, with *Q. Pompeius* his Colleague, and repreſented, with much warmth, the danger, to which the public liberty was expoſed by that unprecedented guard of the Tribune, which gave cauſe of apprehenſions to all the city. No one, however, being able to find a remedy for this abuſe, and the Conſul being likewiſe unwilling to bear with the ſlow motions of the Senate, ordered the ceſſation of all public affairs, and interdicted the Magiſtrates from the adminiſtration of juſtice, till the preſent cauſes for his complaint were removed.

The Tribune annulled this order of the Senate, and the Conſuls met to annul this new order of the Tribune; and this laſt, without regarding any conſequences, ran in arms, followed by his ſix hundred guards, to put the Senate, who were aſſembled, to flight. *Sylla*, being purſued by one

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of the moſt indiſcrete of this troop, was obliged to ſave himſelf in the houſe of *Marius*; and the ſon of the Conſul, *Q. Pompeius*, who was ſon-in-law to *Sylla*, was killed in the flight, without its being known who it was that gave the fatal blow.

Sylla, who was as it were in priſon in the houſe of his enemy, which however afforded him an aſylum, knew no better way of getting out of this affair, than by conſenting to every thing, which the Tribune and people commanded. No ſooner was he eſcaped from this danger, than he left the city, and went to take, in quality of Conſul, the command of the army, which was deſigned to go againſt *Mithridates*.

He was ſtopped at *Nole*, which is a city of *Campania*, then of the greateſt conſequence, and illuſtrious for the obſtinacy with which it reſiſted the *Roman* troops. While *Sylla* was before this city, he received intelligence, that *Sulpicius* had added, to the laws he had already publiſhed, that of his diſgrace, having perſuaded the people to give the command of the war againſt *Mithridates* to *Marius*, who, in the ſeventieth year of his age, had ſhewn the ſame thirſt for command, as though he had been but forty. It is certain, that *Marius* would not have united himſelf to the Tribune, that they would not have made ſo many laws, nor have fought the intereſt of the Knights, had it not been for the deſire of depriving *Sylla* of the command of the *Aſiatic* expedition; and *Marius*, who procured it for himſelf, thereby gave

birth to a civil war. It may not be improper here to give the outlines of his character. *C. Marius* was the ſon of a man of very low extraction, born in a village belonging to the territories of the city of *Arpos*: His education was, conſequently, very ruſtic and ſuperficial, and the auſterity of his actions and manners were leſs the effect of virtue than the rudeneſs of his birth or education. It is however almoſt incredible, how much this ſimplicity, which he heightened by affectation in every thing, appeared amiable in the eyes of the people, eſpecially ſince he preſerved the ſame behaviour in his higheſt elevation, and that at a time, when they beheld, with the utmoſt indignation, the affected diſtinctions and inſupportable magnificence of the Senators. With reſpect to his perſon, he was lame, hideous in his figure, groſs, and unpoliſhed. He was, however, ſober, chaſte, and loved thoſe virtues in his troops, as appears by his diſmiſſing thoſe, who were remarkable for their vices.

He ſerved firſt under *Scipio Emilianus*, who, at the ſiege of *Numantia*, being deſirous of ſuppreſſing the licentiouſneſs of his troops, and re-eſtabliſhing diſcipline among them, received true pleaſure in finding a ſoldier, who was known to him by the valour of his actions on many ſingular occaſions, and who poſſeſſed that virtue he wiſhed to reſtore among his ſoldiers. He often propoſed him for an example to others, and frequently rewarded him with ſuch things, as were conſidered as marks of honour among the *Romans*:

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he is even ſaid to have foretold, to what height of grandeur his virtues and labours would one day raiſe him.

It was, without doubt, upon the ſtrength of theſe preſages, and ſome religious omens, which were in thoſe days held in ſo much veneration, that he dared to aſpire to that prodigious height of power, to which he afterwards arrived. It is certain, that he had all the virtues of a ſoldier and a general; he had great knowledge in the ſcience of war, much courage, and was very ſevere in point of military diſcipline.

It muſt alſo be confeſſed, that to theſe virtues he added great vices: he had an unbounded ambition, which excited in him the deſire, even in the lateſt period of his life, to be always commanding and condemning, though old age had perhaps rendered him incapable, and which ought to have taught him, that it would have been more honourable for him, to relinquiſh all thoughts of power, and enjoy a peaceful repoſe amidſt the glory he had ſo juſtly acquired. His cruelty hurried him on to break through all the ties of blood and friendſhip, and all civil and domeſtic duties. He was falſe in his dealings, and frequently forfeited his word, only to arrive at a very ſmall part of his deſigns. Laſtly, it may be ſaid of him, that his mind was in ſuch a perpetual agitation, as not to leave him a moment's repoſe, or ſuffer others within his power to enjoy the leaſt tranquility; and, as he was invincible to the enemies of the Republic in war,

ſo was he fatally troubleſome to his fellow citizens in time of peace.

Such was *Marius*, when the people gave him the command of the army, which was ſent to act againſt *Mithridates*, after they had taken it from *Sylla*, who undoubtely had merited no ſuch treatment. *Marius* thanked the people for this honour; and, to excuſe his ambition in ſo advanced an age, he proteſted, that he only wiſhed for and accepted this office, to have an opportunity of inſtructing his ſon in the art of war, that he might be afterwards capable of ſerving the Republic.

He afterwards ſent ſome officers to *Nole*, to take the command of the army in his name; but *Sylla*, perceiving himſelf very agreeable to his troops, and after expatiating on the injuſtice and violence of the Tribune and *Marius*, he was the cauſe of thoſe officers being murdered. This cruelty was repaid at *Rome* in a ſtrange manner; for *Marius*, with the aſſiſtance of the ſix hundred Knights, who always followed the Tribune, put to death many of *Sylla*'s friends, among whom were ſome Senators, not one perſon being found, who dared to reſiſt. Even the Senate itſelf was obliged by force to comply with the meaſures of their enemies, who depoſed *Q. Pompeius*, the Conſul, for holding a correſpondence with *Sylla*.

Rome was full of trouble and confuſion: Some fled from the camp to the city, and others ſaved themſelves by quitting the city and haſtening to the camp. Never was the Senate weaker than

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at this time; for they followed the ſtronger part without the leaſt heſitation, and the great examples of reſolution, which are mentioned of ſome particular *Romans*, were now badly imitated by this affrighted and intimidated body, who ſervilely obeyed their mortal enemies.

Sylla, however, who had been joined by his Colleague, *Pompeius*, marched directly for *Rome* with his army, which was compoſed of thirty thouſand men, being fully perſuaded, that he could not more effectually remedy thoſe diſorders of the city, than by making himſelf maſter of it; beſides, he was very well convinced of this truth, that the people change their opinion, as ſoon as they find it to their advantage to do ſo.

Marius and the Tribune, on the other ſide, collected all the forces they could to oppoſe the army; and, as they received advice that *Sylla* and *Pompeius* were approaching, they ſent two Pretors, *Brutus* and *Servilius*, on the part of the Senate, who obeyed the will of the Tribune to forbid their entrance into the city. Theſe two unfortunate Magiſtrates were expoſed to the ſame danger as the Officers, who were firſt ſent to *Sylla*, and whom the ſoldiers tore in pieces; but *Sylla* and his Colleague abated the rage of the army, who contented themſelves with breaking the rods and axes, which the Lictors carried before them, and ſtripping them of their purple robes, that they might have no mark of dignity left.

Sylla then continued his march, and, without

paying any regard to the other Ambaſſadors that arrived from the city, he ordered his two Lieutenants, with ſome of his troops, to advance, who ſeized one of the gates, in ſpite of the vigorous reſiſtance made by thoſe who guarded it. The people, terrified at this firſt ſucceſs of *Sylla*, liſtened no longer to the orders of *Marius*: every one fled, and the army entered the city, where the ſoldiers were greatly annoyed by ſtones thrown from the tops of the houſes; but *Sylla*, in order to remove this inconvenience, ordered them to ſet fire to the city, and he himſelf was going to kindle the flame to deſtroy this miſtreſs of the world, which had ſuch an effect, that he ſoon found every obſtacle removed. *Marius* was driven to the remoteſt quarter of the city, and from thence obliged to fly for his life.

Sylla, finding himſelf maſter of the city, immediately aſſembled the Senate; and that very Senate, who had but juſt before, in obedience to the orders of *Marius*, forbidden *Sylla*'s entrance into the city, now declared *Marius*, *Sulpicius*, their children, and twelve others of their adherents, enemies of the Republic, deprived them of all their magiſtracy and dignity, and declared them culpable of death, with orders to kill them wherever they ſhould be found.

The Tribune, *Sulpicius*, was betrayed by his ſlave, who had been promiſed freedom to tempt him to treachery. Some of *Sylla*'s ſoldiers having ſlain him in the bogs of *Larentium*, they brought his head to *Rome*, which was fixed on the Roſtra

as an omen of the bloody deeds which were to follow. The ſlave, who betrayed him, had liberty given him, by the order of *Sylla*, that he might faithfully perform the promiſe he had made; but immediately afterwards he ordered him to be thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, as a puniſhment juſtly due to his infidelity and treachery—the remains of juſtice, which we may often obſerve even in the moſt violent and lawleſs people!

Marius, who was an object of much more conſequence to *Sylla* than *Sulpicius*, was long ſought for in vain, and the conqueror, by an inglorious act, which will for ever tarniſh the luſtre of his name, ſet a price on his head, and promiſed immenſe rewards to thoſe that ſhould bring it. *Sylla* ſhould have remembered, that he was ſaved by *Marius*, when his houſe afforded him an aſylum, from the fury of the people, and that he had perhaps ſaved his life, with the utmoſt generoſity. This was undoubtely an unwarratable method of repaying paſt favours; but ambition often ſtifles every ſentiment ariſing from nobleneſs of ſoul, and that too frequently where we ſhould leaſt expect it.

This action diſguſted even the Senate, enemies as they were to *Marius*, whoſe misfortunes brought to their remembrance all the obligations, which were due to him from *Rome* in particular, and *Italy* in general: they had a ſincere compaſſion for his miſeries, and a ſecret horror at the cruelty of *Sylla*—it was ſecret, becauſe no one dared to

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ſhew any ſigns of diſguſt in thoſe times, when the abſolute power of *Sylla* puniſhed, with the utmoſt rigour, the leaſt cauſe of his diſpleaſure.

Caius Marius, in the mean time, was flying from his enemies, who were every where ſeeking him, in hopes of obtaining the large reward, which was offered to thoſe who ſhould bring his head to *Sylla*. He retired at firſt to one of his country houſes, called *Salonium*, from whence he ſent his ſon to his father-in-law, *Mutius*, with orders to deſire him to prepare for him every thing neceſſary for a pilgrimage, which he foreſaw would be a very long one; but he dared not to wait the return of his ſon: the ſtrict ſearch of thoſe who purſued him, obliged him to go to *Oſtia*, in order to embark on board a ſmall veſſel, which *Numerius*, one of his friends, had prepared for him, in order to ſeek on the ſea a ſecurity from thoſe dangers, with which *Italy* threatened him.

Fortune has no where given us a more ſtriking example of the viciſſitude of all human affairs! The winds having obliged this little veſſel to hover on the coaſt of *Italy*, they were afraid of being compelled to land at *Terina*, where *Geminius*, one of his moſt inveterate enemies, at that time commanded. It was with much difficulty they got clear of this place, when a furious tempeſt ſuddenly aroſe, and obliged them to put in at *Circes*: Here, either to avoid the dangers of the ſea, and the inclemency of the elements, *Marius* thought it adviſeable to go on ſhore, in order to take a little repoſe. It was alſo neceſſary to procure

cure ſome kind of proviſion for himſelf and his companions: they dared not, however, to ſhew themſelves to any one; for ſome labourers, who happened to know *Marius*, informed him, that a number of armed people were coming that way in ſearch of him, and that it would be neceſſary to retire from a place, which expoſed them to ſo much danger. This information encreaſed the troubles of *Marius*, and ſtill more the deſpair of his little troop, who had as much to fear as himſelf. It was then almoſt night, and it was with much difficulty they could ſupport themſelves under their fatigues; for they were obliged to walk much further, in order to ſeek ſecurity in a thick wood, where they paſſed the night in the bittereſt exclamations againſt the cruelty of fortune.

Early the next morning, they approached the city of *Minturnæ*, and were not far diſtant from it, when they perceived on the coaſt a company of horſe haſtening towards them. They doubted not a moment but they were enemies, and they were not deceived. Nothing ſeemed capable of delivering *Marius* from this danger; and the oracles, on which he ſo much truſted, and which had predicted, that he ſhould be a ſeventh time Conſul, appeared to him now as mere phantoms; for his terrified companions, ſeeing two veſſels very near the ſhore, threw themſelves immediately into the ſea, in order to reach thoſe veſſels by ſwimming, when the ſailors on board, ſuppoſing they were flying from danger, put cloſer into ſhore to receive them. As for *Marius*, his

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age and weight rendering ſuch an exerciſe very improper for him, he was ſupported on the water, by two of his ſervants, with all the difficulty that can be imagined, till he reached the neareſt veſſel.

Scarce were they embarked, than the company of horſe came up, and, concluding the principal fugitive was *Marius*, from the care taken to preſerve him, they ordered the ſeamen to bring him on ſhore, or throw him out of the ſhip, and this by the orders of *Sylla* and the Senate, which were indeed dangerous to oppoſe. On the other hand, *Marius*, and all his people, beſought the mariners, in the moſt affecting manner imaginable, to preſerve the life of ſo great and illuſtrious a man, to whom all *Italy* owed their happineſs and liberty, and not to ſacrifice him to the cruelty of his mercileſs and ungrateful enemies; that the gods would reward their generoſity, and that they would ever afterwards applaud themſelves for having preſerved a man, who had been ſo much eſteemed at *Rome*, as to be elected Conſul ſix times ſucceſſively.

In this critical ſituation we ſhall leave the unfortunate *Marius* till the next chapter; and, in the mean time, let the youthful reader reflect on the uncertainty of all human affairs; let him learn, from the preſent ſtate of the wretched *Marius*, how many evils await unbounded ambition!

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Concluſion of the Affairs of Marius and Sylla.

THE ſeamen were a long time determining how they ſhould act: the fear of *Sylla* and the Senate one moment made them reſolve on putting the unfortunate man on ſhore, or throwing him into the ſea; and then, as ſuddenly, they changed their minds, out of the reſpect they had for the merit of *Marius*. At laſt, through the perſuaſion of the principal mariner, they reſolved to protect him, and not to deliver up ſuch a man to tortures and death. What *Marius* muſt have felt amidſt all this uncertainty, is not perhaps eaſy to be conceived. They kept ſailing along the coaſt; and the horſemen at length diſappeared, after having in vain exhauſted themſelves in menaces.

This ſhip had gone above two miles, when the ſeamen began to repent of their compaſſion; and, conſidering the danger of expoſing themſelves to the rage of *Sylla*, they thought it would be prudent to get rid of *Marius*, without really delivering him into the hands of his enemies: they therefore took the medium, which was infinitely dangerous to *Marius*, and accordingly returned to the coaſt. Here they adviſed him, as he

he was very much indiſpoſed with the motion of the veſſel, to go on ſhore for a few minutes to repoſe himſelf, and to recover a little from his ſickneſs. Whether *Marius* did not ſee into their artifice, or whether he thought it moſt prudent to obey them, he followed their advice; and, no ſooner had he got on land, than they hoiſted ſail, and left him alone, in the moſt wretched and lamentable condition.

He remained ſome time as it were loſt in apprehenſion, ſtretched on the earth, not knowing what part he ſhould take in this cruel extremity. At laſt, recovering his courage a little, he walked a long time, without knowing whither he was going, through muddy places and vaſt marſhes, till he came to a little hut, the habitation of a good old man. *Marius* threw himſelf at his feet, and begged him to ſave an unfortunate man, who would one day amply reward him for his kindneſs.

Whether the old man recollected *Marius*, or ſuppoſed him to be ſome perſon of diſtinction, he received him in the moſt friendly manner; and, after having refreſhed him with the beſt he had, he told him, that, if he ſought only repoſe, his hut was ſufficient to afford him that; but, if he ſought to avoid enemies, he would conduct him to a more ſecure place, where it would be difficult for any one to diſcover him. *Marius* accepted the laſt offer, and followed the old man to the bottom of a moraſs, in a low and muddy place, covered with buſhes. Here he lay down, and his

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guide left him, after having thrown ſome reeds over him, in order the more effectually to conceal him, promiſing to viſit him once a day, and to bring him ſome kind of nouriſhment.

This good man had hardly quitted him, when *Marius* heard the noiſe of many of his enemies who ſought him. It was *Geminius* himſelf, who terribly frightened the old man with his threats, telling him, in a fierce and haughty tone, that he would ſoon repent of having concealed an enemy of the *Roman* Republic. *Marius* heard theſe terrible words of *Geminius*, and feared they would conquer the honeſt intentions of the old man. He therefore, with as little noiſe as poſſible, changed the place of his concealment, and got into a moraſs, where he ſunk in the mud and water up to his neck, covering even his face with the ſlimy matter, ſo that nothing of him could be ſeen but his eyes and noſe. This is certainly an inſtance of the caprice of fortune well worthy the attention of the wiſe, and the reflection of the happy: to ſee the great *Marius* the conqueror of the *Cimbri* and *Tuetones*, the deliverer of the Republic, and that man, whom they called the third founder of *Rome*, concealed in a moraſs, in the condition in which we have juſt ſeen him, to ſecure himſelf from the cruelty of thoſe very *Romans*, of whom he was not long ſince the idol!

Whether the noiſe *Marius* made in changing his place of concealment, or that he knew not that the place itſelf was too much expoſed, it is certain he was diſcovered by the people of *Geminius*,

Geminius, who undoubtedly thought they ſhould do a more important ſervice to *Sylla* in taking him alive; and at the ſame time concluded, that it would be neceſſary to ſhew him at *Minturnæ*, that no one might doubt it was *Marius* himſelf. Theſe reaſons ſaved his life, and he was led naked and dirty as he was found, through the ſtreets of *Minturnæ*, when he was delivered into the hands of the Officers of the city.

The commands of the Senate had been publiſhed in this city, by which it was ordered, that whoever found *Marius* ſhould kill him in whatever place he was taken. Hence it ſhould ſeem, that *Geminius* would have done an important ſervice to *Sylla*, if, agreeably to the literal orders of the Senate, he had murdered *Marius* immediately; for, when tyrants have any end to ſerve on great people, they do not give them leiſure to employ thoſe means, which might perhaps extricate them from all difficulties. Indeed, the Officers of *Minturnæ*, having ſome time conſulted among themſelves, in what manner they ought to act, with reſpect to *Marius*, and being convinced, that it would be dangerous to defer the execution of the orders of the Senate, for fear of incurring the indignation of *Sylla*, they ſent a public ſlave, a *Cimbrian* or a *Gaul*, (which is not certain) to kill *Marius*.

This ſlave, who had perhaps either ſerved under him, or been made his priſoner in the defeat of the *Cimbri*, having entered the room where *Marius* was confined, in order to execute his commiſſion,

commiſſion, no ſooner ſaw him, hideous as he was in that miſerable condition, than he was ſeized with fear. His fear was completed, when he heard that great man ſay to him, with an air of authority, *What, barbarian, dareſt thus to aſſaſſinate Caius Marius!* Theſe words threw ſuch terror into the mind of the *Cimbrian*, that he threw down his ſword, and ran out of the room, crying out aloud, in the utmoſt confuſion, *No, I cannot aſſaſſinate Caius Marius!* This action aſtoniſhed the inhabitants of *Minturnæ*, and convinced the Officers of their cruelty. They immediately repented of the reſolution they had taken, and ſaid one to another, that ſince a ſlave and barbarian had not courage enough to kill *Marius*, it would be great inhumanity in them to put him to death; and, on a ſudden, changing their reſolution, they ran in crowds to the place where he was confined. After having given him every thing, which was neceſſary for his preſervation, they conducted him to the ſea ſhore, where a citizen had provided a veſſel, in which he ſet ſail for the coaſt of *Africa*.

In his paſſage, he had the good fortune to eſcape being taken by a *Roman* Queſtor, who commanded on the coaſt of *Sicily*, where the veſſel, either through ſtreſs of weather, or want of water, was obliged to put in. Landing ſome time afterwards on a little iſland, he was informed, that his ſon, with *Cethugus*, and ſome others, had arrived ſafe at the court of *Hiempſal*, King of *Numidia*, who, though he received them

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in the politeſt manner imaginable, nevertheleſs detained them, and, under the pretence of honour, pleaſure, and magnificence, would not ſuffer them to depart, waiting, no doubt, to ſee what fortune might ordain for his father, *Marius*, and thereby regulate his future actions. His political deſign did not however ſucceed; for one of his moſt beautiful miſtreſſes, having conceived ſentiments of tenderneſs for the young *Marius*, who was handſome and well made, ſhe favoured his eſcape, and provided him a little veſſel, in which he arrived at *Carthage*, where his father had got before him. It was there that the old *Marius* attentively ſurveyed the ruins of this famous rival of *Rome*, and compared its deſtruction and ancient power to his own preſent misfortunes and former grandeur.

Sextilius, a *Roman* Pretor, then commanded in *Lybia*. This man, to whom *Marius* had done neither good nor ill, determined neither to execute the orders of the Senate, or permit him to enter any part of his government. He ſent orders to *Marius* to depart immediately, if he wiſhed to evade the execution of the Senate's edict. He made no other anſwer to the meſſenger who brought this order, than theſe words, which were great and noble: *Go and tell Sextilius, that you have ſeen Caius Marius, baniſhed from his country, repoſing himſelf on the ruins of Carthage!*

He afterwards went, with his ſon, and the reſt of his little company, into the iſland of *Circina*, which was not far diſtant from the continent, to

conſult

conſult what ſtep was moſt prudent to be taken in this ſeverity of fortune. Here he was informed, that the King of *Numidia* had diſpatched a number of horſe, to endeavour to take the young *Marius*, who had ſo happily eſcaped from his hands.

The adventures of this great man ſeem almoſt, in appearance, to equal the moſt fabulous romance, and it would be difficult to give credit to them, were it not for the confirmation of ſo many creditable hiſtorians. *Marius* himſelf gave a deſcription of them, and cauſed them to be painted on a large picture, which he fixed up in a temple at *Miturnæ* on his ſeventh Conſulate.

Scipio, however, who governed at *Rome* with an abſolute and tyranical authority, began to be very diſagreeable, equally perhaps to the Senate, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed, as to the people, whoſe intereſt he ſacrificed on all occaſions. The misfortunes and deplorable adventures of *Marius* being known at *Rome*, added to the remembrance of his victories, raiſed the compaſſion of every honeſt *Roman*, who with reaſon complained of the indignant fortune of the firſt man in the Republic. It is beſides reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the members of a free city could not long ſupport the ſupreme authority of an individual, and *Sylla* was perhaps ſuch a man, as made every one the more ſenſible of the weight of the yoke he impoſed.

The Senate diſſembled; but the people were no longer capable of conſtraint, and gave the firſt mark

mark of their averſion, in refuſing *Nonius*, the nephew of *Sylla*, and one of his creatures, an office for which he canvaſſed, but for what office is not certain. *Sylla* then perceived the malevolence of the people; and, to give them ſome ſatisfation, he diſſembled his anger, ſaying haughtily, that it was his deſire, that the *Roman* people ſhould enjoy perfect freedom in their elections, for which purpoſe alone he came to *Rome*.

It was then the time of electing Conſuls; and whether *Sylla* apprehended, that the number of his friends was ſmall, or that he did not think it prudent to make uſe of open force in elections, he let the people act as they thought proper. It is however certain, that he had troops enough at his command to act juſt as he pleaſed; but men are not at all times equally wicked and ambitious. *Sylla* conſented, and even gave his hand, to the election of *Lucius Cinna*, whom he very well knew to be in the oppoſition to his intereſt, and whoſe violent and daring character was perfectly known to him. He not only offered him his own intereſt, but that of his friends likewiſe, and accepted the oaths, which *Cinna* made him, of never detaching himſelf from his intereſt—Oaths, which he had never any deſign of keeping.

It was on this occaſion, that *Sylla* gave one of the greateſt marks of prudence and judgment, that are to be obſerved in all the reſt of his life; for he doubted not the infidelity of *Cinna*, who was a man that was to be bound by no oaths, and who, indeed, was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the

the conſular dignity, than he began to proceed againſt *Sylla*, and prevailed on *Verginius*, one of the Tribunes, to be his accuſer. *Sylla* gave up all thoughts of defending himſelf in a city, where the monarchy he had for ſome time exerciſed had rendered him odious, and where they would too eaſily find means of convicting him of having done many things contrary to law.

Matters being in this ſituation, *Sylla* acted a part worthy of a man of his genius and reputation: he aſſembled the people, and told them, that he very well remembered, that they had committed to him the care of the expedition againſt King *Mithridates*, whoſe conqueſts began to be of a very dangerous tendency; that he had deferred the execution of his commiſſion only with a view to oppoſe a ſedition, which had troubled the repoſe of the city, and which diſputed with him the honour the *Roman* people had conferred on him; that all things being now quiet, he propoſed to finiſh that foreign war, and hoped thereby to add dignity to the *Roman* name.

Sylla judged very wiſely, that, beſides the glory which he ſhould acquire, if he proved victorious over *Mithridates*, he ſhould obtain by his abſence a more particular conſideration among the citizens, who could not then accuſe him of meddling in the civil broils, and who would hear his triumphs ſung. He foreſaw to what a pitch the violence of *Cinna* would carry matters in his abſence, and that the people, weary of his uſurpations, would readily return to the conqueror of *Mithridates*.

He immediately ſet out for *Aſia*, where *Mithridates* had already left in a thouſand places marks of his hatred to the *Romans*. *Sylla* firſt made himſelf maſter of the provincial troops, and by conduct, valour, and an incredible and invincible fortune, (which he himſelf always acknowledged, and for which he built many temples) he chaſtiſed the vanity of the King of *Pontus*. He took *Athens* after one of the moſt admirable ſieges, of which antiquity has left us any account; but, in his taking of that city, gave ſuch marks of cruelty to the Queen of the Muſes and the Learned, as are hardly to be excuſed: he releaſed a great number of priſoners, who had been taken before his arrival; puniſhed the revolt of ſome provinces, who went over to the intereſt of *Mithridates*, without attempting any defence; chaſtiſed *Fimbria*, that illuſtrious inſolent, who had occaſioned a revolt in the *Roman* troops; and at laſt obliged the King of *Pontus* to retire into the boundaries of his own empire, and to be contented with his paternal eſtates, which his extreme ambition had prompted him to extend ſo conſiderably.

While *Sylla* was thus employed, ſo gloriouſly for himſelf, and ſo advantageouſly for the Republic, the Conſul *Cinna*, following the motions, with which his natural violence and reſtleſs diſpoſition inſpired him, forgot nothing, which could humour the people, of whom he propoſed to make himſelf the chief; and, to increaſe the power of his party, and draw all *Italy* into his intereſt,

intereſt, he propoſed a law, by which all thoſe people were to enjoy every privilege poſſeſſed by the *Roman* citizens.

Cinna paid little regard to the juſtice of this proceeding, as he had nothing elſe in view than the accompliſhment of his own ſchemes, of which the ruin of the Senate was one. It is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that all the *Italians* approved a law, which was calculated ſo much in their intereſt; and *Cinna* by this means increaſed the number of his adherents and dependants. The Senate foreſaw all the evils, which this mixture would occaſion, and of which the greateſt was that of making ſo many people equal in power with the *Roman* citizens, who would all be obliged to *Cinna* for that prerogative. The Senate therefore ſtrongly oppoſed this law, and finding themſelves a little more firm and courageous than uſual, they proceeded to extremities, and drove him out of the city. As ſoon as he was gone, they depoſed him from the office of Conſul, and elected in his room *L. Cornelius Merula.*

This unprecedented violence in the Republic, which gave an example of a very dangerous conſequence, animated the fury of *Cinna*, who publiſhed throughout all *Italy*, that he had been treated ſo unworthily by the Senate, only for having ſupported the intereſt of the people, which occaſioned prodigious numbers to follow him. Of theſe he compoſed thirty new legions, beſides much cavalry which he collected. All this power, added to that of the army near *Nole*, which he

found means to corrupt, furniſhed him with force ſufficient to march immediately to *Rome*, always obſerving to preſerve the marks of conſular dignity, of which he pretended they had not diveſted him. At laſt, finding that his party was very formidable, he made a law, by which he recalled *Marius* and all his adherents, and re-eſtabliſhed them in their poſſeſſions, honours and prerogatives.

Marius, to whom all this news gave inexpreſſible joy, ſet out immediately with ſome troops he had trained in *Africa*, and ſome *Italians*, who had joined him, making in all hardly a thouſand men. This little army arrived ſafe, and in a ſhort time, at the port of *Tuſcany*, where *Marius* was no ſooner landed, than he promiſed, by ſound of trumpet, liberty to all thoſe ſlaves who ſhould join him. This brought many to him, beſides a conſiderable number of vagabonds, who doubted not of making their fortunes, in the preſent ſituation of the Republic, under ſuch a man as *Marius*. *Cinna* received him with all the honours imaginable, and gave him the quality and authority of Proconſul over all *Italy*, with Lictors and Faſces, which *Marius* always refuſed, in order to give the people a ſtronger idea of the infamous treatment he had received, and he lived in obſcurity as a baniſhed man.

Cneius Pompeius, (father of him who was afterwards called the Great) who was then Proconſul, and commanded a very conſiderable army about *Rome*, after ſome time ſhewing his deſire

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to ſave the blood of *Romans*, at laſt vigorouſly attacked *Cinna*. The advantage was equal on both ſides, or, to ſpeak more properly, the carnage was very great in both armies; and a peſtilence raging in every quarter of their camps, made them ſenſible of all the horrors and calamities, which the anger of the Supreme Being could inflict upon mankind.

Pompeius died of the infection; and the deſolation continuing, *Cinna* reſolved immediately to beſiege the city, where the Conſul *Cneius Octavius* commanded, who had been the principal perſon concerned in driving *Cinna* out of *Rome*. This man, to a great ſhare of underſtanding in every branch of government, added much valour and wiſdom, and had ſo much ſeverity and unſhaken firmneſs in the preſervation of all the laws and ancient cuſtoms of the Republic, that the greateſt revolutions, and moſt dangerous adverſities, could never induce him to infringe them in the leaſt. Indeed, when *Marius* and *Cinna* were on the point of making themſelves maſters of the city, he could not be prevailed on to reinforce himſelf by giving freedom to ſlaves. This reſolution, however, compleated his deſtruction; for he was at laſt obliged to yield to ſuperior force; and the people, who always loved *Marius*, having dragged the Conſul *Octavius* out of the Roſtra, he was killed by ſome of the Partizans of *Marius*, who were encouraged to that violence by the outrageous conduct of the populace.

The Senate being then aſſembled, in this laſt extremity, had no other means left, than to ſend Ambaſſadors to the conquerors, begging them to enter the city in peace, and to ſpare the blood of citizens. *Cinna*, having received them in quality of Conſul, and having promiſed them every thing in his power, entered the city with his army. *Marius*, out of deriſion to his enemies, ſtayed at the gate, until his recal ſhould be authoriſed in form. In conſequence of this, and in compliance with the orders of *Cinna*, the people aſſembled, and proceeded in form to the recal of *Marius*. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that no one would preſume to oppoſe his entrance into the city, who was already maſter of it. This buſineſs was hardly finiſhed, when *Marius* entered ſuddenly, ſurrounded by a company of ſlaves, who were the engines of horror, put in motion by *Marius* and *Cinna*.

Nothing could ever equal the cruelty of this victory, if, ſoon after, that of *Sylla* had not ſurpaſſed it. The moſt conſiderable men in the Republic periſhed by various kinds of puniſhments. *Merula*, who, on the arrival of *Cinna*, was diſmiſſed from the Conſulate, cut his veins, and, after having ſprinkled with his blood the very altars, on which he had ſo often ſacrificed for the proſperity of the Republic, he died, deteſting the names of *Cinna* and *Marius*. *Marc Antony*, the Orator, who was called the Prince of the Republic, and who was ſuch in point of eloquence, was killed by the orders of the conquerors.

querors. *Q. Catulus*, who, beſides the many great actions which made him reſpectable, was ſtill celebrated for the defeat of the *Cimbri*, in which he had equally merited the glory with *Marius*, ſeeing that his life was ſought after, ſhut himſelf up in a little room, to which he ſet fire, and thus finiſhed his life.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the horrible ſtate of the city at this time, we can only ſay, that it was the moſt unhappy that can be imagined: every one was in dread, and was dreaded. Thoſe infamous ſlaves, who were devoted to the cruelty of *Marius*, at laſt murdered without diſtinction; and, after having cut off their heads, which were as warrants for their reward, they threw their bodies into the ſtreets, which afforded ſuch a ſight as needs no deſcription. They pillaged every houſe they entered, and violated, without diſtinction, the chaſtity of the wives and daughters of thoſe unfortunate men, whom the hatred of *Marius* or *Cinna* had ſtigmatiſed as criminals. *Cinna*, and *Sertorius*, one of the moſt conſequential men of his party, not being able to behold, without ſhuddering, the barbarity of the ſlaves, nor knowing how to ſuppreſs it, they fell on them by ſurpriſe, and cut them to pieces. *Cinna* was however elected Conſul a ſecond time, in conjunction with *Marius:* and thus was accompliſhed that *famous* Oracle, which had foretold, that this laſt ſhould be a ſeventh time elected to the Conſular dignity. He did not however enjoy this honour any long time; for, being ſeized

with a pleuriſy, he died a few days after his receiving it. The agonies he felt in his expiring moments, perhaps, aroſe not ſo much from his diſorder, as the terrifying recollection of the innocent blood he had ſpilt, and the ſcene of ſlaughter and deſolation, of which he had been a principal promoter.

This man, one of the moſt remarkable the *Roman* Republic ever produced, by the victories he gained over foreigners, and the effuſion of blood, which he cauſed among his fellow citizens —ſo great an enemy to peace and repoſe, which diſpoſition was always hurtful to him— and who was ſo much dreaded by his enemies—died unlamented, and left a ſon, who poſſeſſed all his virtues and vices. They elected, in the room of *Marius*, *Valerius Flaccus*, who ſuffered *Cinna* peaceably to remain ſole maſter of *Italy*.

Sylla, however, received the greateſt part of thoſe, who fled from certain death in *Italy*, and who went to ſeek protection under him. He received them with the more pleaſure, as he was known to have no ſhare in the effuſion of blood at home. He had made himſelf glorious by his repeated victories over *Mithridates*, whom he had reduced to the neceſſity of begging terms of peace; and though *Sylla* was perhaps in a condition of puſhing his conqueſts ſtill further, and totally deſtroying that King, yet *Rome* groaned ſo much under the tyranny of *Cinna*, and the violences of the young *Marius*, who had ſucceeded his father in his hatred for the Senate, that he

he and his army took the rout for *Italy*, leaving *Lucullus* to command in *Bithnia*.

This army of thirty thouſand men, which *Sylla* conducted, was now nearly arrived at *Rome*, when the ſedition fomented by *Cinna* began ſenſibly to dwindle. The reſolution of *Cinna* was not, however, to be conquered; and endeavouring to make uſe of mutinous troops, in the ſame manner as if he had been perfectly maſter of them, he ſo kindled their rage and fury, that they fell upon without conſideration, and murdered him. Thus fell *Cinna*, by a death no ways equal to his crimes, in his third Conſulate. It is ſaid of him, that he dared to undertake what no man but himſelf would, and he accompliſhed thoſe things, which nothing but undaunted courage could: he was raſh in his counſels, but always intrepid in the execution.

Sylla landed in *Italy* with his thirty thouſand men, having more than a hundred thouſand to oppoſe, which were in *Campania*, under the orders of the young *Marius*, *Carbo*, and the two Conſuls, *Scipio* and *Norbanus*, beſides *Sertorius*, who was perhaps the beſt General of them all. *Sylla* traverſed all *Calabria* and *Pouilla* with ſuch wonderful diſcipline, that not the leaſt diſorder was committed by his ſoldiers; and the inhabitants in general prayed for the proſperity of a Commander, who took ſuch care to preſerve their lives and property.

He was no ſooner entered into *Campania*, than he ſaw his army increaſe every day, by the arrival from *Rome* of moſt of the nobility and great

people, who had not before dared to declare themſelves. He defeated, near *Capua*, the Conſul *Norbanus* and the young *Marius*, and killed upwards of ſix thouſand men. *Sylla* then ſent to *Scipio*, the other Conſul, to beſeech him to terminate, by ſome peaceable means, this civil war. Whether his deſign was really ſuch, or that he did it only to gain time, and thereby procure an opportunity of corrupting his troops, which were much ſuperior in number to his, is difficult to ſay: this however is certain, that the negotiation was much protracted, and, during the ſuſpenſion of arms, the ſoldiers in the two armies converſed together in the moſt friendly manner, and thoſe of *Sylla* prevailed ſo much on the minds of thoſe of *Scipio*, that one day, when *Sylla* approached the Conſul's camp with only twenty enſigns, all *Scipio*'s army ſurrendered themſelves to him, and delivered up to him even the Conſul himſelf.

It was on this occaſion, that *Sylla* gave a freſh proof of his moderation and clemency, which was ſo very proper to gain over the hearts of his enemies; for he ſent *Scipio* away without the leaſt ill treatment, and without extorting any thing from him. He uſed the ſame conduct towards *Sertorius* and ſome others.

Carbo, one of the moſt conſiderable on the ſide of the people, was made Conſul a third Time, with the young *Marius*, who was then but twenty-ſix years of age, but who had nevertheleſs, on many occaſions, ſhewn ſingular marks of valour and conduct in the command of the army, and thereby

thereby acquired a reputation ſuperior to the conſular dignity. Theſe two Conſuls were again defeated by the troops of *Sylla*, who forced them to battle. *Marius* was obliged to retire to *Præneſte*, where he fortified himſelf. Before he arrived there, the Pretor *Damaſippus*, a man of a blood-thirſty diſpoſition, had cauſed to be executed, at *Rome*, *Domitius Scevola*, the Sovereign Pontiff and famous Civilian; and alſo *C. Carbo*, who had been Pretor, and was brother to the Conſul *Antiſtius*, who likewiſe fell a victim; beſides ſome others, whom he condemned as favourers of *Sylla*'s party. We muſt not forget to mention the action of *Culprina*, the daughter of *Beſtia*, and wife of *Antiſtius*, who, at the ſame time that her huſband was executed, not being able to endure the thoughts of ſurviving him, ſtabbed herſelf.—An example of conjugal love (ſays my author) very ſingular in thoſe times; but which would be conſidered as a prodigy in ours.

While *Sylla* was enjoying the ſweets of his victory, he was informed, that *Teleſinus*, at the head of forty thouſand *Samnites*, all men of the utmoſt bravery and moſt obſtinate valour, were marching to the aſſiſtance of *Marius*; leſs, without doubt, through a deſire of ſerving that General, than to deſtroy the *Romans* by degrees. He approached even to the camp of *Sylla*, who had left *Ofella* to beſiege *Marius* in *Præneſte*. The two Generals, *Sylla* and *Teleſinus*, without much parade, ſoon came to battle, and never was ſeen

ſo

ſo much valour and reſolution as were then ſhewn on both ſides: the ſoldiers of each army were animated by their chief, and both the commanders were very excellent Generals.

Teleſinus, beſides poſſeſſing an intrepid ferocity, was well ſkilled in the military ſcience, and in which he perhaps ſurpaſſed *Sylla* himſelf: he ran through every rank in his army, crying aloud, "This is the laſt day of the tyranny of the "*Romans*, in which their cruelty and inſatiable "ambition will find an end: this is the day, "wherein we muſt deſtroy that city, which "nouriſhes the tyrants of *Italy*, and of the reſt "of the world. The only method to extirpate "theſe ravenous wolves, who prey on public "liberty, is to cut down the foreſt, which "ſerves them for a retreat."

Indeed, never was *Rome* in ſo much danger, and all hiſtorians agree, that the battle of *Cannæ** had not more fatal appearances than this, of which *Sylla* was ſo perfectly ſenſible, that he tried every method to preſerve himſelf and his country. All his efforts, however, were at firſt to no purpoſe; for the left wing of his army, which he himſelf commanded, gave way firſt, and was put to flight. It was in vain that *Sylla* endeavoured to rally them; for they would liſten to neither his entreaties nor his threats, and nothing

* In this battle, which was fought againſt *Hannibal*, the *Romans* loſt ſeventy thouſand men, (three buſhels of rings being taken from the ſlain) with *Æmilius* the Conſul, beſides other commanders, and fourſcore Senators.

was

was capable of ſtopping the affrighted ſoldiers, who forced *Sylla* along with them. The enemy gave ſhouts of joy, which they hoped would put the reſt of the *Romans* to flight. *Oſella*, who had ſhut up *Marius* in *Præneſte*, hearing the cries of the victors, had more than once reſolved to raiſe the ſiege.

Craſſus, who commanded the right wing, and whoſe troops were more firm and reſolute, bravely ſupported the ſhock of the enemy; and, after having ſome time reſiſted their attack, put them to flight in his turn, and purſued them ſo vigorouſly, that they were totally routed in that quarter, after having loſt a great number of men. *Craſſus*, who preſerved ſuch ſingular coolneſs and prudence in this tumultuous attack, as ſoon as his enemies were fled, ſent ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of *Sylla*, who met with all the difficulty imaginable to get back to his camp, and diſengage himſelf from his cowardly fugitives, who would have forced him a great way, had he not in a very prudent manner eſcaped from their hands.

Craſſus, however, purſued his advantage; and, being ſeconded by *Sylla*, who, with the troops he had ſent him, and ſome others which he had rallied, attacked the enemy on another ſide, and gained a complete victory. All the *Samnites* fled in confuſion, as ſoon as they were told, that *Teleſinus* was ſlain as he was endeavouring to animate his ſoldiers; and his body was afterwards found amidſt the heaps of ſlain, his countenance

preſerving

preſerving rather the image of a conqueror, than of a dead man. Then every thing gave way to the good fortune of *Sylla*, and a body of three thouſand men ſent to him to demand their lives, which he promiſed them: theſe, with three thouſand more, ſurrendered to him; but the *Roman* General here forgot his word, and giving way to an inclination, which he always had for cruelty after a victory, he ordered them to be aſſembled in a particular part of the city, and to be all butchered.

Sylla aſſembled the Senate in the temple of *Bellona*, which was very near this place of execution, in order to inform them of the favours they had received from the Gods, in the total defeat of foreign enemies, and the ſuppreſſion of ſeditions at home. He had hardly began his ſpeech, when the pitiful cries and lamentable ſhrieks of the ſix thouſand men, who were falling a ſacrifice to his cruelty, terribly affrighted all the Senate, who had not been informed of this inhuman ſlaughter.

Sylla coolly continued his diſcourſe, and only told them, to pay no attention to cries of ſome unfortunate criminals, who were executing agreeably to his orders. This act of cruelty, committed in his ſerene moments, made every one ſenſible of what kind of maſter they were likely to have. Every one looked on the butcheries of *Marius* as nothing, when compared with what they now ſaw. *Marius* was indeed more ſevere, cruel and vindictive, before than after a victory; whereas

whereas *Sylla*, on the contrary, was generous and humane in war, but inexorable and barbarous to the laſt degree when conqueror. Such were the unprofitable murmurs of all the city, which, inſtead of changing their affairs for the better, only contributed to fill the meaſure of their calamities.

On the death of the young *Marius*, which is variouſly related, began the ſupreme power of *Sylla*, when he took on himſelf the ſurname of *The Happy*. We may from thence judge what he thought of that enemy, who, though young and unfortunate, had acquired ſo much reputation, as not to be obſcured by the great luſtre of the name and glory of his father.

The *happy Sylla* then exhibited ſports in the *Circus*, in memory of the defeat of *Teleſinus*, and of his own happineſs; and he would with propriety have taken that name, if, immediately after his victory, he had ceaſed to exiſt, and have ſpared by his death all that blood, which his cruelty afterwards induced him to ſhed; for, beſides the ſix thouſand already mentioned, he put twelve thouſand more to the ſword at *Præneſte*.

Every thing being now given up to the conqueror, and ſome of his lieutenants having completed the defeat of the unfortunate remains of the party of *Marius*, the city was in the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion, all the civil diſaſters ſeemed to be no longer dreaded, and the office of Dictator, with which they honoured *Sylla*, appeared to be nothing

nothing more than what was due to him, as a reward for his toils and fatigues; but it was then to their ſorrow that they found his vengeance was beginning, and that the power, with which they had inveſted him, would ſoon fill the city with ſcenes of horror.

This office of Dictator, which had not been filled for more than an hundred and fifty years previous to that time—which the *Romans* with reaſon had always more dreaded than eſteemed—which had not been eſtabliſhed in the early times of the Republic, but to deliver the citizens from the moſt alarming dangers—and which acknowledged no ſuperior—gave *Sylla* the power of inventing that terrible name, *Proſcription*, of which there had not been any example till that time.

How ſhall we deſcribe the cruelties exerciſed in the city? Every one was authoriſed to kill his enemy, and blood ran in the ſtreets, like water through the brooks; thouſands of innocent people were ſacrificed, without order, trial or defence, and no one could judge when or where theſe calamities would end. *Sylla* cauſed to be fixed up in the *Forum* the names of near two thouſand *Roman* Senators and Knights, whom he proſcribed. Among thoſe who fell on this occaſion, were *Carbo*, *Solanus*, *Venuleius*, the brother of *Marius*, and an infinite number of other illuſtrious perſonages, who were put to death in a qualified manner, and with extraordinay tortures. Nothing could ſave a man, whoſe name

was

was written in this fatal catalogue: No aſylum, temple, or ſacred place, no paſt ſervices, friendſhip, or parents; for thoſe, who ſhewed the leaſt pity or deſire to ſave any one, became themſelves proſcribed; and neither the ties of blood, nature, or the right of nations, were any longer regarded at *Rome*. The poſſeſſions of the proſcribed were given to the creatures of *Sylla*: a fine garden was productive of the death of one man, a beautiful houſe that of another, and in this manner he rewarded ſervices by the deaths of the innocent. Theſe ſentences were pronounced according to the will of the conqueror, to whom the people had given a ſupreme and univerſal authority in the name of Dictator.

We may in ſome meaſure form an idea from all theſe diſorders, which ſeemed as though they would never end, how great muſt be the ſurpriſe at *Rome*, when, all on a ſudden, *Sylla*, by an unexpected change in his conduct, weary of revenge, power, ſlaughter, and command, (leſs perhaps through moderation and grandeur of ſoul, to which ſome attribute it, than through the ſtings and horrors of conſcience, which frequently ſubdue the moſt obdurate and daring wretch) thought proper to lay down the office of Dictator, and reſtore the management of affairs to the Conſuls.—A prodigious change, which from that day made *Sylla* the idol of the people! They forgot all the blood ſpilt by his proſcriptions, that they might remember only the liberty he had reſtored them; and we ſee in him an example of a moſt

moſt violent and ſanguine uſurper dying peaceably in his bed, beloved and adored by all the citizens of *Rome*.

Had *Sylla* been a good Republican, the *Roman* people would have perhaps loved him leſs, than when, after having uſurped an unbounded tyranny, he was pleaſed to reſtore them to liberty!

CHAP. XII.

Conſiderations on the Life of Lucullus.

IT is certain, that virtue alone will not raiſe a great man to the higeſt pinnacle of glory; and this perhaps ariſes from the general corruption, which has infected our Taſte. If we conſider the heroes of paſt ages, ſhall we not ſay, that they owed all their glory to their happy vices? *Alexander*, for having dared to diſturb the repoſe of the moſt formidable powers in *Aſia*, was conſidered as the model of heroes, and it was only to his happy temerity that he was indebted for that advantage. If ambition had not prompted *Julius Cæſar* to ſhed ſo much *Roman* blood, if he had not accompliſhed ſuch vaſt and unjuſt ſchemes, would he at this time be conſidered as ſomething more than human?

Whoever conſiders theſe vices as neceſſary, may very juſtly reproach *Lucullus* with glorioufly wanting them: he knew not how to be vitious, being always juſt and moderate: he was an obedient ſon, an indulgent father, a faithful friend, a good citizen, a valiant ſoldier, and a prudent general: he fulfilled the duties of every office in which

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which he engaged, was an enemy to injuſtice, bribery, and parties, and had not the leaſt tincture of falſe ambition—vices, at which the greateſt men of our age bluſh not, and which *Cicero* calls the vices of the times, and not of men.

Lucius Licinius Lucullus was of the noble family of *Licinians*, whoſe Patrician branch produced the rich *Craſſus*, and *Maſer*; as for *Lucullus*, he was of the Plebeian branch. We know that the greateſt *Roman* houſes were frequently divided, in order to obtain the Tribunate of the people, which was the moſt conſiderable employment in the Republic next to the Conſulate, over which it had ſome advantages.

Lucullus was the ſon of that famous *Cecilia*, who diſhonoured her houſe by the irregularities of her life. His perſon was handſome, and his manners ſincere and polite, which prepoſſeſſed every one in his favour. His eloquence, which was natural and perſuaſive, was ſufficiently proved in his defence of his father, and which determined the people to give him ſome magiſterial office: they offered to chuſe him Edile, which was the firſt ſtep to higher promotions; but he would not accept of it before it had been given to his brother. The people, however, impatient to ſhew him their reſpect, contrary to the laws of good government, elected him and his brother Ediles at the ſame time.

The *Roman* people were always ready with their favours, and often very injudiciouſly, being inconſtant as the wind. This people, who ſhewed ſuch marks of their approbation of *Lucullus*

cullus at this time, afterwards ill treated him, when he moſt deſerved their eſteem. *Sylla* had already ſufficient authority in the Senate to be conſidered as the firſt man there, and began to make himſelf maſter of *Rome*, and an enemy of the people, whoſe power he was deſirous of humbling, and whom he beſides conſidered as the greateſt enemies to his ſcheme. He ſaw the engagements *Lucullus* was forming with the people, by the favour they had juſt ſhewn him, and he thought it would be good policy to bring into his intereſt a man, who would ſoon be in a condition to hurt the Senate by his attachments to the people. It was this reaſon, which induced *Sylla* to court the friendſhip of *Lucullus*; and it could not be very difficult to the firſt and moſt powerful man in the Republic, to attach himſelf to a youth, who would have every thing to expect from ſuch an alliance.

He became the moſt intimate friend of *Sylla*, who entruſted him with all his important concerns: he even ſent him into *Egypt* and *Lybia*, to ſeek a ſupply of ſhipping, while the naval armament of *Mithridates* was beſieging *Athens*. It was in this voyage, that *Lucullus* gave a leſſon of punctuality and diligence to all thoſe, who are ſent into foreign countries on public affairs. He was young, and, as he had never before been in *Egypt*, the Memphis, Pyramids, and the other curioſities of that kingdom, which were juſtly called wonders, one would reaſonably expect were ſufficient to have ſtopped a man of his taſte and curioſity; but he anſwered to ſome of his people

people, who endeavoured to perſuade him not to ſlip that opportunity of ſurveying them, that curioſities of that nature ſhould excite the attention of thoſe only who travel for pleaſure, and not a man, who was ſent to ſollicit ſuccours for his beſieged general.

He was ſo fortunate as to collect a great number of ſhips, with which he formed a conſiderable armament; and, returning to join *Sylla*, was ſeveral times obliged to engage with *Mithridates*, who endeavoured to prevent their junction. The advantages which he always maintained over that famous enemy in theſe ſlight ſkirmiſhes, failed not to give him a high opinion of his valour and conduct, and filled him with the moſt pleaſing preſages of the happineſs he ſhould one day experience, in totally ſubverting that Prince.

He had no ſooner joined *Sylla*, than that general, preſſed by the enterpriſes of *Marius*, and innumerable letters from thoſe of his party, thought it adviſeable to conclude a peace with *Mithridates*, which he plainly foreſaw would be of no long duration. He returned to *Italy*, and left *Lucullus* in *Aſia*, where he committed to him principally the levying of the impoſition of twenty thouſand talents, (about twelve millions of gold) in which the province of *Aſia* was condemned, as a puniſhment for their revolt. This commiſſion, however diſagreeable it was in its nature, gave *Lucullus* an opportunity of ſhewing his uſual clemency, in ſoftening as much as he could the rigour of his orders, and in executing it with all the

the moderation imaginable. What gave him the moſt ſatisfaction in this employment, in which *Sylla* had left him in *Aſia*, was his being far removed from all civil affairs, which diſpenſed with his having any part in thoſe violent diſorders, that effuſion of the blood of citizens, and that horrible proſcription, which were ſo fatal to the *Romans*.

However diſtant *Lucullus* was from *Rome*, *Sylla* failed not at his death to give him the greateſt mark of his eſteem, in appointing him tutor to his children, in preference to *Pompey*, with whom he had been cloſely connected. *Pompey* was not a little offended at this laſt will of *Sylla*, as it carried with it a conviction of the ſuperior merit of *Lucullus*. *Pompey* always preſerved a diſagreeable remembrance of this preference, and it was perhaps the principal cauſe of that enmity, which endured ſo long between him and *Lucullus*.

It was after the death of *Sylla*, that *Lucullus* was elected Conſul with *M. Cotta*, and it was during his poſſeſſion of this dignity that he diſplayed ſo many ſhining virtues. *Pompey* had acquired much credit in *Spain*, by exploits which were in themſelves very inconſiderable, but appeared at *Rome* with extraordinary luſtre, from the care which was taken to give them a magnificent deſcription, and from the intereſted manner in which they were related by ſome of his friends, whom he ſent from the army for that purpoſe. *Lucullus* conceived in his heart a ſecret jealouſy: this coolneſs for each other, which commenced

commenced on the death of *Sylla*, was now ripened into a mutual hatred; and *Lucullus* could no longer bear the praiſes given to *Pompey*, but wiſhed for a favourable opportunity to ſtrip him of his borrowed glory.

The province of *Gaul*, which fell to his lot, furniſhed nothing to aſſiſt his deſigns; for every thing being peaceable there, gave him no opportunity to act any ways advantageous to his glory; however, the motions of *Mithridates* in *Aſia* awakened his ambition and deſires. That prince, with whom *Sylla* had patched up a peace, through the neceſſity, in which he found himſelf of returning to *Rome*, had no ſooner collected forces together, than he renewed the war, without even ſeeking a pretence for his hoſtilities. The few *Roman* troops, which were then in that country, were very roughly handled; and the provinces, who were much diſcontented with their officers, and ruined by their exactions, made but a faint reſiſtance.

The recommencement of this war gave much uneaſineſs at *Rome:* for the reports of the progreſs of the enemy were encreaſed in proportion to the diſtance from whence the news came, and they feared, with ſome reaſons, the dangerous conſequences that might attend it. *Lucullus* heard all this with the more joy, as, being Conſul, he cheriſhed the deſign of getting the command of the army, which was to be ſent againſt this Prince. The happy ſucceſs he had met with while he ſerved under *Sylla*, however little important

portant in fact, were flattering enough to make him believe he ſhould one day triumph.

He purſued the fineſt meaſures any one could take not to be thwarted in his deſigns: he gave ſatisfaction to *Pompey*, who complained in *Spain* of ſome ſeverities of the Senate, and who threatened to quit every thing, and bring back his army into *Italy*. *Lucullus* feared, if *Pompey* ſhould return with a victorious army, the city would not be in a condition to refuſe him any thing he ſhould demand.

It is impoſſible to imagine how much *Pompey* was ſurpriſed, when he was informed that *Lucullus* had taken his part in the Senate, and that he had done every thing to obtain what he had demanded. He was ignorant of the deſigns of the Conſul, and knew not to what to attribute theſe marks of favour from a man, by whom he knew he could not be beloved: he ſuggeſted a thouſand ſilly and extraordinary reaſons, which his policy or ſelf-love preſented to his imagination, all equally diſtant from the truth.

In the mean time, news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Octavius*, Governor of *Cilicia*. This government produced a very conſiderable revenue, and for that reaſon many perſons endeavoured to obtain it. *Lucullus* thought very little of it upon that account; but, becauſe *Cappadocia* was added to it, he doubted not, if he ſhould obtain it, the command of the army againſt *Mithridates* would infallibly be given him. *Lucullus* therefore reſolved to endeavour to obtain

it; and here we muſt obſerve the ſituation of the *Roman* people, who were obliged to employ bribes to obtain any public employments, and which were, at that time, in a manner entirely at the diſpoſal of *Cethegus*.

This man was of an illuſtrious birth, and very agreeable in perſon: he had an enterpriſing genius, and wanted not reſolution to carry any thing into execution: he had a long time affected to condemn the ſeverities which the Senate often exerciſed on the people: he had vigorouſly ſupported ſome rights, of which the Senate had ſuppreſſed the uſe, and by a liberty peculiar to Republics, he violently cenſured all thoſe, who attempted to ſhew the leaſt diſreſpect to the people. To complete his character, he was an accompliſhed hypocrite, diſſembling his ſenſe of injuries when he thought it neceſſary, and never wanted a ſpecious pretence for every thing he attempted. As to the reſt of his qualities, he abandoned himſelf to all kinds of debauchery, loving that liberty of manners in his own perſon, which he readily ſuffered in others—vicious qualities, but agreeable to a free people, with whom he had acquired ſo much credit, that he diſpoſed of their votes at his pleaſure. The firſt offices in the city were given only to thoſe who met with his approbation, and Senators of the higheſt rank, and moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, were obliged to buy his favour, to obtain that of the people.

What

It was very disagreeable to the honest part of the citizens, to see *Cethegus* governed by *Præcia*, a famous courtezan, so well known at *Rome* for her debaucheries. This woman, after many galantries, became the idol of *Cethegus*, who seemed to be a character very little likely to become so enamoured of a woman, as he was in reality with her; and by an invincible fatality, common even to the greatest men, he did nothing but by the direction of *Præcia*: so that it became indispensibly necessary to address her, to obtain every thing of *Cethegus*, who, through the interest of the people, had every thing at his command. What a situation was this for the *Roman* Republic, whose elections, and most important affairs, were entirely under the management of an artful and abandoned prostitute!

It was however necessary, that *Lucullus*, naturally an enemy to *Cethegus*, from the little resemblance there was in their manners and conduct, and even by the opposition the former had frequently made to the daring impetuosity of the latter, who, under the favour and protection of the people, had often proposed very extraordinary and pernicious things—it was necessary, I say, *Lucullus* should seek some means of an accommodation, in order to obtain the government of *Cilicia*.

He believed there could be no surer means, than by paying some honours to *Præcia*, which she considered as advantages gained over him in point of galantry. She was the more flattered with this

idea, as the merit of *Lucullus* was ſo generally known, and that, till this time, he had appeared an enemy to female intrigues. *Præcia* anſwered the honours paid her by *Lucullus* in a manner much to his ſatisfaction, and his accommodation with *Cethegus* was ſoon accompliſhed. This blind lover, who perfectly believed every thing his miſtreſs told him, every where praiſed the merit of *Lucullus*, ſollicited the people in his behalf, and at laſt procured him the government of *Cilicia*.

It was not difficult for him afterwards to obtain the command of the army againſt *Mithridates:* the people, by whom he was eſteemed, and who heard him ſo highly praiſed by *Cethegus*, unanimouſly conferred it on him. Beſides, who, indeed, could be able to diſpute with him this employment? He had taken care to keep *Pompey* in *Spain*, where he was ſucceſsfully employed in the ſervice of the Republic; and *Metellus*, whoſe name was ſtill highly received, was ſo old, that he acknowledged himſelf incapable of ſo important an expedition. *Lucullus* then left *Rome* as General of the army againſt *Mithridates*, and ſoon reſtored military diſcipline among the troops, which had been ſhamefully neglected. Without ſtopping to take any particular notice of the affairs of his government, he haſtened to weaken the power of *Mithridates*, who had already made a very great progreſs.

Mithridates was far advanced in years, when *Lucullus* began this war: he had overturned the

King

King of *Bithnia*, and *Ariobarzana*, King of *Cappadocia*; conquered all *Greece*, and every iſland, except that of *Rhodes*; he had very often made irruptions into the *Roman* provinces, where he had fought with ſucceſs; famous by a thouſand great actions, and by his conduct and his valour; ſo great an enemy to *Rome*, that he cauſed to be executed in one day, an order, which he had given throughout all the ſtates that had ſubmitted to him, to put to death an hundred thouſand *Romans*, who were of the military profeſſion; he was perhaps the beſt acquainted of any man, how to make the moſt of a victory, and had, in his extenſive capacity, reſources for the greateſt adverſity; he was likewiſe a complete maſter of diſſimulation, miſtruſtful, jealous, and cruel even to inhumanity; his genius, though extenſive, was formed rather to injure than befriend.

Such was *Mithridates*, when they ſent *Lucullus* to oppoſe him; a young man, who had been little uſed to war; but who ſhewed by the ſucceſs he met with, that virtue and conduct are more the works of nature and genius, than of time and experience.

The firſt victory he obtained was by the aſſiſtance he gave his Colleague, *Cotta*, who, having obtained the command of a naval armament to guard the coaſts of the *Propontis*, and deſirous of performing ſome exploits before *Lucullus* ſhould arrive, determined to give battle to *Mithridates* both by ſea and land; for, being one of the

Conſuls, all the troops were obliged to obey him. The ridiculous deſire of conquering by himſelf, and thereby gaining all the honour, was hurtful to him; for he was defeated on all ſides: he loſt ſixty ſhips, and a great number of ſoldiers on land. He now remained more cloſely beſieged by *Mithridates* in *Calcedonia*, without hopes of any other aſſiſtance, than that which he ſhould receive from *Lucullus*, to whom the envious deſign of *Cotta* was not unknown; but he ſhewed on this occaſion more pity than anger. He inſtantly marched to his aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding the contrary advice of all his officers, who, irritated againſt *Cotta*, endeavoured to perſuade *Lucullus* to pay no attention to him, but to enter into *Pontus*, which *Mithridates* had left defenceleſs, and where, even *Archilaus*, late a Lieutenant of that King, but then a deſerter in the *Roman* army, aſſured him, that he would find all the people ripe for a revolt. *Lucullus* very nobly replied to all their ſollicitations, that he would rather ſave a *Roman* citizen, than deſtroy all his enemy's territories; and, without ſhewing any reſentment againſt his colleague, he haſtened to his aſſiſtance, with all the ſucceſs he could hope for.

He purſued his advantages againſt *Mithridates*, who, having quitted *Calcedonia*, laid ſiege to *Cizicus* with much vigour, and with the more hopes of taking it, as he believed it would be difficult to ſuccour it. However, *Lucullus* obliged him to raiſe that ſiege likewiſe, by ſo maſterly a conduct,

conduct, that *Mithridates*, the moſt artful warrior of thoſe times, conceived ſo much jealouſy of his merit, that he determined to try the fate of a battle, to revenge himſelf of this young General, who had ſo often deceived him by falſe marches and counter marches, ſuch as he had before very ſeldom obſerved; but, as the army of *Lucullus* was much inferior to his, and as the *Romans* had no other reſource in *Aſia* than that army, he judged it improper to truſt his fate to the uncertainty of a battle. He therefore continued harraſſing the army of *Mithridates* by detached parties, in which he generally had the advantage: He deprived them of the means of ſubſiſtance, by ſurpriſing the convoys, which were to ſupply the King with proviſions, and thus ruined and defeated their army, which obliged *Mithridates* to retire into the very heart of his kingdom.

The King was the more enraged at this defeat, as he knew the abilities of his own Captains, whom he ſaw conquered by the artifices of a young man, who had forced him to fly with precipitation, and into whoſe hands even he himſelf muſt have fallen, had he not ſecured his retreat by a lucky ſtratagem. *Mithridates* ordered a mule to be loaded with gold, and placed between him and thoſe who purſued him. Avarice ſtopped the *Romans*, who gave over the purſuit, and amuſed themſelves with dividing the ſpoil.

It was after this flight, that *Lucullus*, whoſe army had received ſome reinforcements, made the beſt uſe of his victory, cloſely purſued his

enemy, entered with rapidity into *Pontus*, took *Niſſa*, forced every place which dared to oppoſe him, and ſpread ſo great a terror in the minds of all the people, that every thing gave way to his good fortune, and *Mithridates* found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of quitting his kingdom.

The King, even amidſt ſuch trying misfortunes, loſt not the leaſt of his courage, and thought only how he ſhould repair his loſſes. Hoping nothing more from fortune at home, he reſolved to go and aſk aſſiſtance from foreign Kings; but, before his departure, he gave a remarkable proof of his ferocity and cruelty, which ſeem to have been natural to him.

He had ſhut up his treaſures, with his two ſiſters, and two of his moſt favourite wives, in a part of his kingdom, which he thought ſecure from danger; and, not being able to endure the thought, that his miſtreſſes ſhould become a prey to *Romans*, he gave orders to *Bachilides*, an eunuch, to put them to death. The manner, in which they received this order, merits ſome conſideration.

Berenice and *Monimes* were the two unfortunate Princeſſes: the firſt was of the iſland of *Chio*, and the other of *Miletus*. This laſt was celebrated for her conſtant reſiſtance to all the offers of *Mithridates*, who was paſſionately in love with her, and to whom ſhe paid not the leaſt attention, till he had declared her his Queen, by calling her his wife, and ſending her the royal diadem, which was a ceremony obſerved in the marriage

marriage of Kings of that province. Even then ſhe conſented with regret, and only to ſatisfy the falſe ideas of her family, who were vainly dazzled with the luſtre of the crown and power of *Mithridates*, then victorious and loaded with glory. She abandoned herſelf to a perpetual melancholly, which the ſlavery impoſed by *Mithridates* on all his miſtreſſes, her preſent diſtance from *Greece*, where ſhe had no hopes of ever returning, and perhaps a ſecret paſſion, which ſhe was always obliged to conceal, contributed to make inſupportable.

When *Bacchilides* had pronounced the King's pleaſure, that they were at liberty to chuſe what kind of death ſhould appear to them the moſt eaſy, *Monimes* tore from her head the mark of royalty, which ſhe conſtantly wore, and fixing it round her neck, endeavoured to ſtrangle herſelf with it; but it broke, and left her in a condition, which excited the compaſſion even of a ſlave. Recovering herſelf a little, *Unfortunate Diadem*, cried ſhe, trampling it under her feet, *thou waſt the cauſe of all my misfortunes! Why wouldeſt thou not at laſt ſerve me to put an end to them all?* After having ſhewn theſe marks of her reſentment, ſhe ordered the eunuch to ſheath his poinard in her boſom.

Berenice took poiſon with admirable reſolution, and obeyed, without murmuring, the fury of a barbarous lover. The King's two ſiſters, *Statira* and *Roxana*, followed the example of the laſt. *Roxana*, after having ſome time kept a profound

ſilence, ſwallowed poiſon, and died without pronouncing a ſingle word. As for *Statira*, after having ſhewn her grief for the King's defeat, ſhe highly commended his conduct, and charged *Bacchilides* to thank him for having, in the wreck of his affairs, taken care to ſnatch her, by a timely death, from the ſhameful ſlavery of the *Romans*, who would undoubtedly have made her experience their inſolence, in expoſing her to the ignominy of the conqueror's triumph.—Sentiments worthy of a heroine of thoſe times, and the ſiſter of *Mithridates*!

We may, however, judge from hence to what a lamentable ſtate *Mithridates* was reduced. There remained no other reſource for him, than to throw himſelf on the generoſity of *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, his ſon-in-law, whom he had till then deſpiſed.

Lucullus enriched himſelf with the ſpoils of his kingdom, and took poſſeſſion of all the cities, of which ſome of the moſt diſtant ones had merited, by their obſtinate reſiſtance, to be abandoned to the diſcretion of the victorious ſoldiers; but the natural clemency of *Lucullus* would never permit him to allow of plundering: what a pity, that ſuch conduct ſhould occaſion thoſe diſagreeable conſequences which he afterwards experienced! Though he was not ignorant that a General, who deſired to be beloved by his army, ought to permit ſomething of that kind, and that nothing was more likely to gain the hearts of the ſoldiery, than a licentious freedom; he was ſenſible, on the

the other hand, that a General, who had no criminal ambition, and who had no fatal deſigns on the Republic, had no occaſion to ſeek the friendſhip of his troops by ſuch unwarrantable means, and ſuch cruel complaiſances.

It is probable he ſupported this character too ſtrictly; for, obſerving an exact military diſcipline, he ſeverely puniſhed the ſoldiers, and rewarded them only on the greateſt and moſt noble actions, which conſequently but ſeldom happened: he ordered them on the hardeſt duties, chaſtiſed their inſolence on the ſlighteſt occaſions, and laboured more to make the people happy, than enrich his troops.—An eſtimable character in itſelf, but always dangerous, and frequently fatal.

When *Lucullus* was informed, that *Mithridates* had fled to *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, who was then a friend and ally of the *Romans*, he thought himſelf obliged, in order to omit nothing for the good of his country, to ſend an Ambaſſador to that Prince, to demand of him the King of *Pontus*. *Appius Claudius*, his brother-in-law, a young man of great quality, who ſerved in his troops, and who was afterwards the principal cauſe of their revolt, was choſen for this commiſſion. He went immediately to *Antiochus*, where he was obliged to wait a ſhort time for *Tigranes*, who was on a viſit to ſome of his provinces.

This King, who at firſt was no more powerful than the reſt of the neighbouring Kings, became

became ſo great, by a proſperity, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly ſtiled the *King of Kings*; and he took it very ill, that *Lucullus* addreſſed him only as King of *Armenia*. After having conquered and extinguiſhed the family of Kings, ſucceſſors of the great *Seleucus* —after having often chaſtiſed, and more than any other, the pride of the *Parthians*, and obliged that people to retire into the extremity of their empire—after having tranſported the inhabitants of whole *Grecian* cities into *Media*, conquered *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and given laws to the *Arabs*, he reigned with an authority, which was reſpected by all the Princes of *Aſia*. His court was compoſed of many Kings, among whom hiſtorians aſſure us there were four, who ſerved him as guards, and who were placed, on particular ſolemn days, at the four corners of his throne, in a ſubmiſſive poſture, expreſſive of their ſervitude. The people honoured him, according to the cuſtom of the *Orientals*, even to adoration, and the riches which he poſſeſſed were immenſe.

All theſe circumſtances conſidered, it is not at all ſurpriſing, that ſuch a Prince as *Tigranes* ſhould be proud, vain and inſolent, ſeduced as he was by flatterers, and a proſperity, which had yet known no change. *Appius Claudius* was introduced to an audience with this Prince, who appeared in his utmoſt luſtre, in order to raiſe a greater idea of his majeſty and grandeur in the mind of the Ambaſſador, who, joining the haughtineſs of ſpeech natural to him, with that

which

which formed the principal character of the Republic, perfectly ſupported the dignity of a *Roman* Ambaſſador.

After having in a few words explained the cauſe of the war between the *Romans* and *Mithridates*, and the little faith of that Prince, who had broken the peace, without ſecking even a reaſon or pretence, he told *Tigranes*, that he came to demand him; that it was but juſt, that he ſhould adorn the triumph of *Lucullus*; that he did not believe, that ſuch a friend as *Tigranes* had till then been to the *Romans*, could refuſe ſo juſt a requeſt; that, to ſum up the whole, his denial would be conſidered as a declaration of war.

This free and haughty manner of ſpeaking aſtoniſhed *Tigranes*, who had not, during the five-and-twenty years he had reigned, heard any thing like it, and ſurpriſed his whole court. However diſpleaſed he was with this unuſual kind of addreſs, he concealed his reſentment, and preſerving the utmoſt civility to *Appius Claudius*, he told him, that *Mithridates* was the father of *Cleopatra*, his Queen; that his connection with him was too ſtrong to permit him to think of delivering him up to grace the triumph of *Lucullus*; and that, if the *Romans* were ſo unjuſt as to make war with him on that account, he had the means of defending himſelf. He afterwards ſent him away with much civility, and offered him very magnificent preſents, which *Claudius* refuſed; but was obliged to accept, according

acording to cuſtom, of a golden cup. It may not perhaps, be improper here to obſerve the generoſity practiſed among barbarians to the very people, againſt whom they had denounced war.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Conſiderations on the Life of Lucullus, concluded.

WHILE *Lucullus* was waiting the anſwer of *Tigranes*, he paid all his attention to the relief of the people of his provinces, whom the extortions of the *Roman* tax-gatherers had reduced to a condition truly worthy of pity. It is difficult to expreſs the height, to which theſe receivers of the Republic had ſtretched their extortions. The poor people were obliged even to ſell their children, and many of them themſelves, to raiſe wherewith to pay the tax impoſed on them, or at leaſt the exorbitant intereſt due to uſurers, of whom they borrowed money to pay it; and theſe uſurers were always the receivers themſelves.

It is not at all ſurpriſing that *Bithnia*, which had been aggrieved in this reſpect more than any other province, and where the example of ſelling themſelves to ſlavery was ſo frequent, it is not ſurpriſing, that this province, which groaned under ſuch an inſupportable yoke, ſhould have received *Mithridates*, leſs in the character of an enemy than a deliverer.

Lucullus, to whom cruelty was odious, and who

who plainly foreſaw the dangerous conſequences that muſt attend exactions of this nature, remedied the diſorders with the utmoſt reſolution, regulated and moderated the intereſt of uſurers, forbad violences, and prolonged thoſe delays, which the poor people with juſtice demanded. One would hardly imagine, that this conduct, ſo good and laudable in itſelf, which tended only to relieve the oppreſſed and unfortunate, ſhould give a fatal blow to the fortune of *Lucullus!*

The revenues of the Republic were always under the management and inſpection of the *Roman* Knights; among whom were many very conſiderable by the fortunes they had acquired, or by their families and connections. It was told them with what rigour *Lucullus* ſuppreſſed the violences in *Aſia*. Intereſt always produces the ſtrongeſt and moſt laſting hatred, ſince the cauſe of it is always preſent to our minds. Many of thoſe, whom he had deprived of the means of haſtily enriching themſelves, had very powerful correſpondents at *Rome*; and, viewing every thing through the medium of ſelf love, the moderation of *Lucullus* really appeared to them as an act of injuſtice. They therefore employed all their friends and intereſt to procure his recal from *Aſia*, where his authority was become an invincible barrier to their intereſt.

They complained at *Rome*, that *Lucullus* protracted the war; that, after having ſubdued *Mithridates*, he was engaging in freſh broils, the ſucceſs of which was very doubtful, and that he had

had now provoked *Tigranes* to arms, only through his fondneſs for command. Theſe rumours and complaints were conſtantly increaſing; and *Memmius*, an enemy to the family of *Lucullus*, and intereſted in the revenge of the avaricious, was very ſucceſsful in his clamours. We ſhall ſee in the end what were the effects of this hatred.

Lucullus, however, having received the refuſal of *Tigranes*, marched immediately againſt him. The enterpriſe appeared raſh, and the terrible power of that King aſtoniſhed all thoſe, who judged leſs by the valour of troops, and the conduct and wiſdom of their chiefs, than by the multitude of ſoldiers. After having left ſix thouſand men, to guard the kingdom of *Pontus*, under the order of *Sornatius*, *Lucullus*, with twelve thouſand men, and three thouſand horſe, which compoſed the whole of his army, very happily paſſed the *Euphrates* and the *Tygris*, and entered *Armenia*, where, after having defeated ſome detached parties belonging to *Tigranes*, he obliged that Prince to leave *Tigranocerta*, a magnificent city, which he had built, called after his own name, and peopled it with *Greeks* and *Medes*. The deſire *Tigranes* had ſhewn of making it the firſt city of his empire, had obliged all his courtezans to ſettle there, with their moſt valuable effects, and was therefore conſidered as the richeſt city in *Aſia*.

Lucullus beſieged it, leſs for the ſake of the plunder, than to draw *Tigranes* to its aſſiſtance, and

and force him to battle, fully perſuaded, that he would not peaceably ſuffer him to take ſo conſiderable a city, and which was ſo much the object of his vanity. Indeed, that Prince was determined to ſuccour it, and it was not but through the perſuaſions of *Mithridates*, that he for ſome time deſiſted from the attempt. It is in our days almoſt incredible, that an army of twelve thouſand men ſhould be able to beſiege ſo great a city as *Tigranocerta*, and wiſh at the ſame time to give battle to numberleſs troops.

All the neighbouring Kings, however, who were allies and tributaries to *Tigranes*, having joined the King's army, he deſpiſed the advice of *Mithridates*, whom he believed to envy him the glory of conquering an enemy, by whom he himſelf had been conquered; and, prepoſſeſſed with the number and courage of his forces, he marched to the relief of his favourite city, complaining that he had only *Lucullus* to fight, and not all the *Roman* Captains.

His army was compoſed of one hundred and fifty thouſand foot and fifty-five thouſand horſe, beſides twenty thouſand archers, and thirty-five thouſand pioneers. *Tigranes* was followed by many kings and princes, of which ſome brought all their troops at their own expence, and were followed by all the great lords of their provinces in their moſt magnificent equipages. When this army was arrived on mount *Taurus*, from whence *Tigranes* ſaw the *Roman* army encamped before *Tigranocerta*, he could not help bantering on the ſmallneſs

ſmallneſs of the number of his enemies, which indeed, ſeemed very little likely to conquer ſo formidable a power.

Lucullus, however, having left ſome troops to continue the ſiege, marched with about ten thouſand men, a thouſand archers, and all his cavalry, to meet *Tigranes*, whoſe lieutenants begged of him, that one only among them might be permitted to go and defeat *Lucullus*, without ſubmitting all his army, and his royal perſon, to ſo trifling a combat. It is ſaid, that the king very pleaſantly replied upon this occaſion, *If they come as Ambaſſadors, they are a few too many; if they come as enemies, they are but a handful.*

Lucullus kept ſtill advancing, and at laſt encamped in a plain, on the ſide of a little river; and, at the break of day, on the ſixth of *October* (a day eſteemed unfortunate by the *Romans*, and of which he ſaid he would change the opinion, in making himſelf happy by a victory) he ranged his army in order of battle, and forded the river without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, his enemies not imagining he would dare to attack them. This motion, which was no longer a feint, being perceived by *Tigranes*, *What*, ſaid he, *does he then come to us!* Without loſing any time, he gave the right wing of his army to the king of the *Medes*, and his left to the king of the *Abiadenians*, preſerving for himſelf the centre, in which were his guards, his courtiers, and his greateſt lords.

Lucullus firſt made himſelf maſter of a little eminence, followed by ſome *Roman* and *Gauliſh* troops;

troops; and viewing from thence the whole diſpoſition of his enemies, *It is done*, cried he, *the victory is ours!* he immediately charged the *Medes* ſword in hand, who not being able to make uſe of either their arrows or their lances, becauſe the *Roman* ſoldiers preſſed ſo cloſely on them, that they were thrown into a ſtrange confuſion. The weight of their armour would not permit them to fly ſo haſtily as they wiſhed, and they ſtood in each other's way. As the action began on the declivity of a hill, the firſt rank giving way, and falling headlong on the ſecond, thoſe in the rear, ſeeing the confuſion above them, took to flight: a general terror ſpread, from rank to rank, throughout the whole army of *Tigranes*, which was totally defeated, without making any reſiſtance. Never did terror produce ſo wonderful an effect, nor was ever an army conquered more tamely. The ſlaughter was ſo great on the ſide of the vanquiſhed, that they loſt near an hundred thouſand foot, and almoſt all their cavalry; and, what appears in a manner incredible, the *Romans* had only five men killed, and about an hundred wounded. *Tigranes* ſaved himſelf with much difficulty, and loſt his diadem in his flight, which was brought to *Lucullus*, and uſed afterwards to adorn his triumph.

Never had ſuch an extraordinary victory been known: the number of the conquerors were not a twentieth part of the conquered, and yet they ſuffered themſelves to be ſhamefully defeated with very little reſiſtance. The enemies of *Lucullus*,

cullus, having it now no longer in their power to accuſe him of raſhly undertaking this war, ſince he had obtained ſo ſignal a victory, attributed this defeat to fortune and chance, and in which the valour and conduct of the General had very little part.—The weak and common reſource of malignant envy, which always wiſhes to diminiſh the glory of great men!

Lucullus, immediately after his victory, took poſſeſſion of *Tigranocerta*, which opened her gates to the conqueror, without preſuming to make the leaſt ſtipulations. The booty was infinite: every common ſoldier had eight hundred drachms of ſilver given him as a reward for his valour; and the poor inhabitants, *Greeks*, *Cilicians*, *Medes*, &c. were not only permitted to return to their own countries, but had every neceſſary ſupplied them for that purpoſe. This laſt act of *Lucullus* made his name revered by every one, but his enemies at *Rome*.

All the neighbouring princes ſent ambaſſadors to the *Roman* General, to congratulate him on his victory. Many, who till then had been in the intereſt of *Tigranes*, were the firſt to acquit themſelves of this civility.—Proſperity always produces flattering compliments. The King of *Parthia*, among others, paid him his reſpects, and his Ambaſſadors took much pains to amuſe *Lucullus* with the hopes of a league, while the *Roman* General was privately informed, that the *Parthian* King was entering into a treaty with *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*. Theſe proſperities inſpired

inſpired *Lucullus* with the deſign of making war on the deceitful King of *Parthia*, that he might have the glory of conquering all *Aſia*. For this purpoſe, he commanded his lieutenants to join him, and gave orders for all the preparations neceſſary for ſo important an undertaking; but, at the time, in which he was to depart, his ſoldiers abſolutely refuſed to follow him.

The murmurs of ſome diſcontented ſoldiers excited a revolt, which *Lucullus* could not appeaſe by any other means than his remaining in *Armenia*; and he contented himſelf with attacking the capital of that kingdom.

Tigranes, who was now joined by *Mithridates*, haſtened to the relief of this city, on which depended the preſervation of the reſt of his kingdom. He had a very conſiderable army, compoſed of the wrecks of his firſt, and ſome troops, which he had raiſed in diſtant provinces. *Mithridates*, whoſe valour and experience were ſo well known and reſpected, commanded this army, though under the name of his ſon-in-law. Both of them being aſhamed of their misfortunes, and foreſeeing their entire ruin, they reſolved to ſtop the progreſs of the *Romans*, and once more try the fate of a battle.

The King of *Pontus* carefully ſeized the moſt advantageous poſts, and ranged his army with all the ſkill of an able general; but his good conduct was of little effect, as his troops could not a moment ſupport the ſhock of the *Roman* ſoldiers, and immediately gave way to their legions. Their flight was as ſhameful as it was bloody,

and

and the carnage contiuued all night. If theſe barbarians loſt more ſoldiers in the firſt battle, in this they loſt more officers. *Mithridates*, enraged at the cowardice of his troops, was himſelf forced away in their flight, and compelled to follow them, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Romans*. Never did fortune declare more favourably for any one, than for *Lucullus* at this time: he had now conquered, in two pitched battles, with a handful of men, the two powers of *Aſia*, which had been ſo formidable to the *Romans*.

His enemies, who, as we have already obſerved, were very powerful and numerous, continued to exclaim at *Rome* againſt the length of the *Aſiatic* war. "*Lucullus*, (ſaid they) not contented with having conquered *Mithridates*, the ſole buſineſs of his commiſſion, has deliberately attacked *Tigranes*, and thereby drawn on the Republic a very dangerous enemy. Having had ſome ſucceſs againſt that King, merely through the effects of chance, he now intends to attack the *Parthians*, in order to make the war endleſs, and thereby perpetuate his command and authority. He now poſſeſſes all *Cilicia*, *Aſia*, *Bithnia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, the kingdom of *Pontus*, *Armenia*, and even to the river *Phaſis*: he deprives the Republic of the revenues of thoſe provinces, under the pretence of ſupporting the war: but it is in reality only to enrich himſelf."

They pretended that *Lucullus* had amaſſed in this expedition, and eſpecially by pillaging the royal

royal houſes of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, riches which ſurpaſſed the fortune of any individual, while his ſoldiers lived in extreme indigence, and had not the leaſt rewards given them, or any part of the ſpoils. *Memmius* ſpoke ſtrongly on this occaſion againſt *Lucullus*, and *Lucius Quintius*, one of the Pretors, completed the reſolutions of the people, to ſend another General into *Aſia*, to put a more ſpeedy period to the war.

Pompey, whoſe reſentments againſt *Lucullus* had not been effaced by either time or abſence, and who, glorious by the victories he had obtained in *Spain*, and by thoſe which he had juſt wreſted out of the hands of *Craſſus* in *Italy*, beheld with an eye of jealouſy and grief the riſing reputation of *Lucullus*, whom he always conſidered as his rival, and whoſe victories were ſo conſiderable. *Pompey* ſollicited this government, and the people, who had loaded him with honours, and who ſaw him at *Rome* in all the luſtre, which riches, friends and fortune, could give him, readily granted him what he aſked for: *Lucullus* was recalled, and *Pompey* declared his ſucceſſor.

The Senate, and many other unprejudiced perſons, repreſented their injuſtice in depriving ſo glorious a man of the power of finiſhing a war, which was haſtily drawing to an end, after he had conducted it with ſo much honour and advantage to the Republic. "Is it thus (ſaid they) "that you reward the victories of *Lucullus?* Has "he not conquered all the kingdom of *Pontus*, "driven *Mithridates* from thence, ſubdued *Ti-*

"*granes*,

" *granes*, took all his cities, and extended the " boundaries of your empire? Has he accom- " pliſhed all this only to prepare the honours of " a triumph for *Pompey?* And is this man, who " who has juſt ſtolen the ſame honours from " *Craſſus*, in like manner to rob all the *Roman* " Captains?" All theſe true and ſolid reaſons had no weight with the multitude, who were entirely prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Pompey*. This man was already become ſo formidable by the power they had given him, that he ſeemed reſolved to ſuffer no equal.

As ſoon as the news of this remove reached the army of *Lucullus*, it completed the revolt, which the ſeverity of that General, the inſolence of the *Roman* ſoldiers, and ſtill more the malignant practices of *Clodius*, had firſt given birth to.

Clodius was brother of the wife of *Lucullus*, and he was ſo debauched, that he gave occaſion to ſome people to accuſe him of loving his ſiſter, and having criminal connection with her. This report ſpreading through *Rome*, ſoon became the topic of common converſation, and undoubtedly gave *Lucullus* all the uneaſineſs, which a delicate man muſt feel on ſuch an occaſion. He obliged *Clodius* to ſerve under him in the eaſt, where he hoped that abſence would efface from his mind ſo culpable an idea, and make the public forget their ſuſpicions. *Clodius* therefore ſerved under him, and was employed, as before obſerved, in that embaſſy, in which he ſo well ſupported his character; but, whether he was too haughty to obey another, or whether he bore ill will to *Lu-*

cullus, for having obliged him to quit the delicacies of *Rome*, in which he was ſo agreeably plunged, it is certain, that *Clodius* at firſt corrupted the *Fimbrian* band, which were the moſt eaſy troops to be ſeduced: he took part in the fatigues of the ſoldiers, told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to ſerve ſo long a time under a ſevere and avaricious General, in a foreign climate, without lands or any recompence, while their companions, whoſe conqueſts were very inſignificant, were enriching themſelves under *Pompey*. Such diſcourſes as theſe from a man of conſequence like *Clodius*, who always covered his deſigns with the moſt inſinuating language, and an air of popularity, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the ſoldiers, that it was no longer in the power of *Lucullus* to command them: the revolt was manifeſt and general, and he was haughtily told, that the time to obey him was expired, and that they ſhould no longer conſider him as their General.

Mithridates, having received information of the diſaffection which reigned in the *Roman* army, collected a few troops together, and conquered, without much difficulty, one of the Lieutenants of *Lucullus*, who, with ſome faithful ſoldiers, endeavoured to reſiſt the King; but they could not ſtop his progreſſes, which he every day encreaſed, and which began to give room to fear an entire change, when it was reported, that *Pompey*, General of the army in *Aſia*, was juſt arriving.

This

This man, who was honoured with the title of *The Great*—the firſt and moſt powerful man in the Republic, to whom the people and the Senate had blindly given ſo extenſive an authority—famous by his triumphs and his victories, whoſe enterpriſes, conducted by Fortune herſelf, had always been attended with ſucceſs—was regarded with admiration by all the world, but principally in this army, where he was known only by report, which magnifies every thing, and where the general envy and hatred againſt *Lucullus* would have made any other commander agreeable.

Pompey arrived with a ſecret joy of driving away his enemy and his rival; and the firſt ſtep he took, as ſoon as he reached the provinces of his government, was to forbid every one obeying the orders of *Lucullus*, which was an action little becoming him who bore the title of *Great*, and which plainly ſhewed his mean jealouſy and revenge. *Lucullus* felt leſs from this affront, than from the injuſtice of *Rome*, who ſo baſely repaid his fidelity and ſervices. However diſagreeable ſuch treatment muſt have been, he certainly ſupported it in a manner becoming the conqueror of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, and was even deſirous, in order fully to complete his commiſſion, to attend *Pompey*, and give him the inſtructions neceſſary for the intereſt of the Republic.

This interview happened in a town of *Galatia*; and, though it was between two men, who

had very little reſpect for each other, yet they at firſt behaved with all the politeneſs imaginable, and in a manner becoming great men. The faſces, which were uſually carried before them, were changed into laurels, to ſhew their victory. They firſt complimented each other on their various ſucceſſes; and for ſome days converſed with the greateſt familiarity; but it ſhould ſeem, that it is impoſſible for enemies to be long together without being angry.

Pompey reproached *Lucullus* with the immenſe riches, the prodigious quantity of gold and ſilver veſſels, and the ineſtimable precious ſtones he had amaſſed, of which he had been more deſirous, than of the honour of conquering *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, who, had they not been ſo rich, would have leſs felt the weight of the *Roman* arms, under ſo inſatiable a commander.

Lucullus juſtified himſelf with much reaſon; and, without denying his riches, defied any one to accuſe him of having oppreſſed the people, ſince, on the contrary, he ſuppreſſed the uſuries and extortions of thoſe in power: "I have not, (ſaid "he) ſuffered any one to pillage cities, and that "method of amaſſing riches has been unknown "to me. After any great battle, I have re-"warded the valour of my ſoldiers more than "any one, I furniſhed the conquered wherewith "to enable them to retire from *Tigranocerto* to "their own country, and all *Greece* is at this "time applauding my generoſity. *Rome* cannot

"be

" be ignorant, that I have ſupported this war, " in its utmoſt extent, without touching the " revenues of the Republic, always making the " ſpoils of the enemy ſupport that immenſe ex- " pence. But if, after all, the good fortune of " my conqueſts has furniſhed me with means of " amaſſing riches, I do not believe there is any " thing culpable in that; and I ſhall let the " *Romans* ſee, that I know the true uſe of wealth " acquired in the toils of war."

After having thus juſtified himſelf, he reproached *Pompey* with his ambition and wretched jealouſy, which made him conſider every one as his enemy, who acquired public reputation, and whoſe merit appeared to him as an obſtacle to his elevation. Their converſation grew very violent, and ended in an open rupture. *Lucullus* departed, and left *Pompey* commander in thoſe provinces, where he had not much difficulty of reducing a people, who were already driven to the laſt extremity.

Lucullus arrived at *Rome*, where his enemies, who were not yet ſatisfied, endeavoured to deprive him of the honour of a triumph, under the pretence of his not having finiſhed the war; but, after having diſſipated their falſe reaſons, he triumphed under the conſulate of *Cicero* with much applauſe.

At this period began the private life of this great man, who was hardly leſs illuſtrious in his retreat, than amidſt his conqueſts. After having repudiated *Clodia*, his wife, for her un-

bounded extravagance, and alſo, for the ſame reaſon, his ſecond wife, *Servilia*, ſiſter of *Cato*, who was afterwards the miſtreſs of *Cæſar*, and mother of *Brutus*, he retired, as much diſguſted with the matrimonial ſtate as with public affairs. He was very ſeldom ſeen in the Senate, and conſtantly refuſed putting himſelf at the head of a party againſt *Pompey*, whoſe tyrannies began to intimidate that order. He replied to the importunities of his friends, that there were certain bounds preſcribed to fortune, and that he had experienced her favours as much as any one; but that the reverſe was now arrived: that the knowledge of the human mind conſiſted in knowing how to time things properly, and that he would therefore rather ſupport a life deprived of dignity and glory, than endeavour to acquire them by force.

It was in this retirement, that he convinced the *Romans* of his not having acquired riches through any mean or avaricious views, as he ſeemed more fond of diſperſing, than he had been of amaſſing them. He built ſuperb edifices, conducted the ſea through long canals, built arches and porticos, and gave many other proofs of his grandeur and magnificence. He erected a valuable library, which he filled with the beſt and choiceſt books, and devoted it to the uſe of the learned. He employed his leiſure hours in the company of men of letters, in hearing the public diſputes of Philoſophers, and the academical diſſertations.

To

To all this luſtre, he added the magnificence of a ſumptuous table, of which ſome hiſtorians ſay that *Pompey* himſelf could not help admiring the order, delicacy, and profuſion; and that he felt much pain at the ſight of this magnificence, though the retreat, in which *Lucullus* lived, offered no obſtacle to his ambition. *Pompey* ſhewed his anger againſt theſe ſtudied delicacies, when his Phyſicians, in order to recover him from a ſickneſs, adviſed him to eat a Thruſh; and the ſeaſon not permitting them to be found in any other place than in the reſerves of *Lucullus*, he would not ſuffer them to go there for it; and ſaid to his Phyſicians, *What, ſhould I then die, if Lucullus were not voluptuous?*

Cicero, who lived very familiarly with *Lucullus*, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of his manners, and the conduct of his life, never blamed this exceſs; but believed that *Lucullus* ought to reſtore to the Republic, by his magnificence, what he was accuſed of having acquired through avarice. The people, whom profuſions always enchant, were many times deſirous of giving him ſome marks of their favour; but *Lucullus* ſlighted them, and would not truſt to a capricious multitude, who were never leſs to be depended on, than when they ſeemed to promiſe the moſt.

His life ran on in this agreeable and delightful courſe, until his mind became weakened by a poiſoned mixture, of which it was never known who was the author, and which obliged his

brother, *M. Lucullus*, to take the management of his affairs. His body became ſoon enervated, and he died a ſhort time after, regretted by all thoſe who foreſaw the diſorders, which the power of *Pompey* would occaſion, and conſidering him as the only man they could have oppoſed to his ambitious attempts.

CHAP. XIV.

Reflections on the Aſſaſſination of Cæſar.

JULIUS Cæſar, after having uſurped the ſupreme power of *Rome*, and reduced to ſlavery the firſt city in the world, which had ſo long boaſted of her love of liberty, was regardleſs of his perſonal ſafety, and thought himſelf ſecure in his moderation and clemency: in him was ſeen a violent uſurper walking through the ſtreets of an enſlaved city, without any guards or attendants, who might defend him from inſult.

Though he might not have much to fear from the people, yet he could not be ignorant of the adorations the Senate ſtill paid to the memory of *Pompey*,* his famous adverſary, whoſe indignant death they lamented. Beſides, he, who is inveſted with ſovereignty, cannot avoid giving ſome diſſatisfactions, whatever care he may take to pleaſe

* *Pompey*, having finiſhed the war in *Aſia*, returned to *Rome*, and obtained the honour of a triumph, in which were exhibited the names of fifteen conquered kingdoms, and eight hundred cities, beſides many royal captives, and an immenſe quantity of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. The ambition of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* occaſioned great troubles, which were productive of a bloody war,

pleaſe every one. *Caſſius* had conceived a violent diſguſt at ſome marks of preference, which *Cæſar* had ſhewn in favour of *Brutus* in their Prætorſhip. Could *Cæſar* doubt, that his enemies would make the public liberty a pretence for executing their private reſentments? Indeed, the love of liberty was not the motive which determined *Craſſus*, who, though he had much merit, was by nature far from ſuch a ſeverity of virtue. *Decimus Brutus*, and ſome others of the conſpirators, ſeemed leſs likely to be actuated by the ſole deſire of liberty, in ſo great an attempt as the aſſaſſination of *Cæſar*.

Cæſar ought to have guarded himſelf againſt the effects of the love of liberty in ſome, the diſcontents of others, and the envy of many, who had ſtill ſufficient authority in the ſtate, to aſpire to command, or at leaſt not to obey. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that there was no appearance of there being any one in the ſtate, who was likely to undertake ſo dangerous an enterprize as the deſtruction of *Cæſar*. *Pompey* was dead, and his children were diſperſed; it was

and which ended in the famous battle of *Pharſalia*, where *Pompey* was totally defeated. He fled into *Egypt*, where, in ſight of his wife, he was treacherouſly murdered, his head cut off, and his body thrown on the ſhore. Such was the end of the mighty *Pompey*, who, after eſcaping the moſt remarkable and moſt imminent dangers, died miſerably at laſt by the hands of a few villains, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and by the orders of the King of *Egypt*, who ſeduced him on ſhore under profeſſions of friendſhip and protection.

long

long ſince that *Craſſus* had periſhed among the *Parthians*; *Cato* was no more; *Cicero* was reconciled to his enemies with all the appearance of ſincerity; *Anthony* and *Lepidus* were his moſt faithful friends, and the companions of his fortune; and no one could imagine that *Brutus*, whom he had loaded with favours, and whom he conſidered as his ſon, could be capable of ſuch an attempt.

It is however pretended, that it was this laſt conſideration that determined *Brutus* to commit ſuch a terrible action: he wiſhed to efface the ſuſpicions of the ſhame of his birth; and by an unnatural action, if he was the ſon of *Cæſar*, or at leaſt a very ungrateful one, if he was only his friend, he opened the door to monarchy, which he boaſted of having cloſed againſt it.

He certainly ought not to have received the favours of *Cæſar*, if his virtue could not ſuffer a tyrant, and in whatever ſenſe we argue, this action of *Brutus*, however great and virtuous he might have otherwiſe been, was replete with treachery and perfidiouſneſs. It was a maxim, formerly adopted in Republics, that a man might commit the moſt abominable crimes to preſerve the liberty of his country.

Cæſar indeed was not deſtitute of faithful friends, who were every day fearful of ſome act of violence in a country, where the moſt exalted perſonages ſeldom eſcaped with impunity, and where almoſt all thoſe who aſpired to ſovereignty, fell by the hands of their own countrymen. *Sylla* was the only one who had eſcaped this fate, by his

his abdication of the Dictatorſhip. They obſerved alſo, that no perſon had been raiſed to an extraordinary pitch of power, by the general voice of the people, and in oppoſition to the Senate, without periſhing unfortunately; and it is certain, that *Cæſar* received all his power from the very faction who were enemies to the Senate. This faction was formed of the remains of the party of *Marius*, and of the wrecks of the Friends of *Catiline*. All theſe conſiderations induced *Cæſar's* adherents very often to repreſent to him how imprudent he was in not being well guarded at a time, when he had every thing to apprehend. *Cæſar* ſlighted their advice, being fully perſuaded of this *certain truth*, that, if his height of power ſhould raiſe conſpirators againſt his life, all the guards in the world could not ſave him; becauſe that the conſpirators would certainly watch ſome favourable opportunity, which it was impoſſible to avoid giving them at one time or other; and he conſidered it as unworthy of *Cæſar*, to be continually obliged to take care of his life. *It is better*, ſaid he to thoſe who importuned him on this ſtep, *to die once, than continually to feel the terrors of it.*

The greatneſs of his mind ſuffered him not to give the leaſt credit to unproſperous omens, nor to the fatal predictions of the ides of *March*. He had all his life made it a point to deſpiſe every kind of ſuperſtition; and we read in many places where he paid not the leaſt attention to ſuch things, but when he found it neceſſary to anſwer ſome particular purpoſe.

The

The ides of *March* were however fatal to *Cæſar*. The conſpiracy was formed, and it was as powerful as ſecret: the conſpirators were Senators, and almoſt all of them his beſt friends: his ſon *Brutus* was the chief, and *Caſſius* the ſecond. Under ſome pretences, they kept *Anthony* at the door of the Senate, while they maſſacred *Cæſar*, who, ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf ſurrounded, and immediately after receiving a wound from a perſon behind him, endeavoured to defend himſelf; but when he ſaw his ſon *Brutus* with a poinard in his hand, ready to ſtrike him, he made no more reſiſtance, and only ſaid, *Tu quoque, mi Brute!* (Thou too, my *Brutus!*) Theſe were the laſt and only words, which this great man, the conqueror of *Gaul*, of *Pompey* and the Senate, the maſter of the Republic and the world, pronounced as he covered his face, and then died without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of grief, fear, or weakneſs.

Tiberius Gracchus, who was killed in the emotions of the Senate, died nearly in the ſame manner, without uttering the leaſt complaints, or making any reſiſtance. Their country being armed againſt them, ſeemed to them a ſufficient reaſon for their puniſhment. We find among the *Romans* ſome other examples of this nature.

Such of the *Roman* people, as were accuſtomed to view things ſuperficially, immagined that *Rome*, after his death, would be reſtored to her former freedom. The muderers were ſupported in the city, all the Senate were for them, and

Anthony

Anthony, to whom the dignity of Conſul, which he then poſſeſſed, gave a lawful right to purſue the crime committed by the conſpirators, was obliged, after many vain and feeble attempts, to come to an accommodation with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*—an accommodation, which was certainly ſuch only in appearance; but which ſhewed the power of the conſpirators, who reſiſted, without much difficulty, the authority of the Conſul in the Senate, and even the momentary and tumultuous rage of the people, who were wound up by the harangues of *Anthony*, and by the ſight of *Cæſar*'s bloody ſhirt, which that Conſul expoſed to their view in the midſt of his ſpeech.

Rome was never more diſtant from the enjoyment of her ancient liberties, than after this murder, ſince here it was that Monarchy began. It is highly probable, that, if *Cæſar* had lived to die a natural death, there would then have been much more reaſon to hope for the reſtoration of their privileges. As the Dictator had no legitimate ſon, which could tempt him to make either the Dictatorſhip, or royalty, hereditary in his family, and as it is not plauſible, that *Octavius*, whom he had adopted, on account of his being his neareſt relation, but who reſembled him ſo little—it is not probable, that *Octavius* ſhould prevail on him to continue, in his favour, an attempt of uſurpation againſt his country, for which *Cæſar* felt ſo much remorſe, that he endeavoured to ſoften it by acts of clemency and moderation,

moderation, and for which even his moſt inveterate enemies applaud him. Beſides, *Cæſar* had a very plauſible excuſe for the dominion he had uſurped, which was the neceſſity of the ſtate, but which could have furniſhed him with no plea to render that dominion hereditary. The diſputes between *Marius* and *Sylla*, the conſpiracy of *Catiline*, the extreme elevation of *Pompey*, loaded in ſuch a manner with power and dignity, and ſo many bloody revolutions, had almoſt exhauſted the Republic, as gave room to fear its haſty and total deſtruction, eſpecially as every one was ſtriving at command and authority. It was therefore neceſſary, in order to reſtore matters to good order, that there ſhould for ſome time be a maſter, who might check the unlimitted ambition of the great, and give repoſe to the people and the Senate, of which ſo many had unfortunately periſhed in the civil and domeſtic diſorders.

We may very well ſuppoſe that the people, in whom was extinguiſhed every ſpark of ambition, were not at all uneaſy on ſeeing *Cæſar* their maſter. That ſupreme dominion, which he exerciſed with juſtice and clemency, was much more agreeable to them, than thoſe humiliating meaſures they were eternally obliged to keep with a number of great and powerful men in the Republic, whoſe favours they were compelled to purchaſe.

The greater part of the Senators, though, as a collective body, were naturally opponents to *Cæſar*,

Cæſar, were nevertheleſs, in their private capacity, very little uneaſy at the dominion he had acquired, which they foreſaw muſt ſoon end, as he had no poſterity to ſucceed him. They received ſingular pleaſure from the humiliating ſituation, to which they ſaw many reduced, who, though not ſuperior to them in birth, and often beneath them in both family and perſonal merit, had, by the aſſiſtance of fortune, their ambition and intrigue, uſurped an inſupportable power in the Republic.

As ſoon as the victories of *Cæſar* were complete, it became no longer a queſtion of choice or reaſon, which party the people ſhould take; for every one gave up to the conqueror. Thoſe, who had ſhewn the greateſt obſtinacy in oppoſing *Cæſar*, gave the ſtrongeſt marks of their inſtability after the unfortunate death of *Pompey*, who fell in a manner ſo unworthy a great man, and who was conſidered as one of the moſt renowned perſonages the world ever produced. *Cicero* was obliged to make his peace, being perſuaded by the letter which *Cælius* ſent to him, and which was written with more ſpirit than probity, that, as long the citizens diſputed only in words, every one ought to adopt that party, which appeared the moſt juſt; but, as ſoon as the diſputants flew to arms, it then became neceſſary to follow the ſtrongeſt. *Cato*, that ſour auſtere Philoſopher, had no other reſource than in killing himſelf, which he did with ſo much ceremony,

ceremony, as plainly ſhewd he quitted life with regret.

Cæſer had not been many months in poſſeſſion of his power, when the conſpiracy, which was formed againſt him, and ſo effectually executed, made the conſpirators hope for the return of the authority of the Senate. But how vain were their hopes! *Anthony*, the friend of *Cæſar* through inclination and gratitude, made uſe of his quality of Conſul to purſue the conſpirators; and, though an accommodation was patched up between them, it was eaſy to ſee, that each party agreed to it only to gain time to prepare againſt each other. *Octavius*, the adopted ſon of *Cæſar*, and his heir, united himſelf to *Anthony* through the ties of duty. The principal motive of both of them was, however, to come in for a ſhare of the authority, which *Cæſar* had poſſeſſed. *Lepidus*, who joined them, at the beginning of theſe troubles, ſeized on the dignity of Soverign Pontiff, which *Cæſar* had left vacant.

The two chiefs of the conſpirators left *Rome*, perhaps very impolitically; for, adored as they were by the Senate, who conſidered them as the deliverers of their country, they had not much to fear, the people being beſides entirely appeaſed. If the troops, which *Anthony*, and the other friends of *Cæſar* had raiſed, obliged them, on their ſide, to form an army in thoſe provinces where they had the moſt power, they ought, it ſhould ſeem, to have divided the buſineſs of their common intereſt between them. *Caſſius*, who

was

was by far the better General, ſhould have aſſumed the management of the army; while *Brutus*, who was more adapted to the Cabinet, and who was in ſo high an eſteem in the city, ſhould have remained there, to prevent, by his preſence, the friends of *Cæſar* from making themſelves maſters of *Rome* and all *Italy*. Whether their heads were diſordered, or that they feared ſome conſpiracy againſt themſelves in return for their own, or, what is more probable, that they diſtruſted each other, being very little allied through inclination, it is certain they did not ſeparate while they were in *Italy*; and when they parted, the one went into *Syria*, and the other into *Macedonia*. In theſe provinces, where they had much credit, they raiſed conſiderable troops; but this diſtruſt and antipathy for each other, with which they were naturally prepoſſeſſed, in the end ruined themſelves and their party.

It ſeemed, however, ſome time after, as if every thing would ſucceed in their favour. The avengers of *Cæſar* divided: *Octavius* and *Anthony* made war upon each other, when they ought unanimouſly to have turned their arms againſt the conſpirators. The Senate, who were then abſolutely governed by *Cicero*, politically fomented this diviſion; and, though they inclined moſt to the ſide of *Octavius*, they endeavoured, with much art, to deſtroy the two chiefs by their own arms. Such was the political conduct of *Cicero*, who was the particular friend of *Brutus*, the irreconcileable enemy of *Anthony*, the ſupport of the

the Senate, and the eternal adverſary of all, who were any ways related to the friends of *Catiline*.

It is probable, that this diviſion would have proved proſperous to the conſpirators, had not *Lepidus* joined *Anthony*. Then was held that famous conference between *Octavius*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*, in which the *Triumvirate* was concluded, which proved the total deſtruction of the conſpirators, and the eſtabliſhment of monarchy. From that time liberty entirely ceaſed, each Triumvir was a King in his department; and fortune, chance, and the bad conduct of *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, having proved their ruin, *Octavius*, who was then called *Auguſtus*, remained ſole maſter of the Republic, which he left, after a reign of near forty years, under the dominion of *Tiberius*, who was his wife's ſon, and who proved the moſt terrible Prince the Senate had ever experienced.

CHAP. XV.

Conſiderations on the Life of Mark Anthony.

THE *Roman* Republic was perhaps never ſo great as in the eve of her deſtruction, and her grandeur was the principal cauſe of her ruin. The citizens, after having ſubdued the remoteſt regions, finding no more objects for their ambition in foreign parts, armed themſelves againſt one another, and fomented wars in the boſom of their own country, which the ſubmiſſion of almoſt the whole world prevented them from carrying on any where elſe.

It was indeed very difficult for men, who had commanded in provinces, richer and more extenſive than are now the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms, where they had received the honours paid to ſovereigns—who commanded powerful and numerous armies, with a very extenſive authority, giving law to all people, without hardly acknowledging a ſuperior power—and who had made themſelves of ſo much conſequence, as always to be at *Rome* the Patrons and Protectors of the greateſt kings—it was very difficult for ſuch powerful men to accommodate themſelves to the duties of a private life, and to leave to the Republic

public the peaceable choice of their Magiſtrates, who were, in fact, the maſters of kings and of the world in general.

The power of the citizens was the cauſe of fatal troubles, and gave an opportunity to an infinite number of great men to embroil themſelves in theſe laſt revolutions of the Republic; and we may venture to ſay, that among all theſe there were few who appeared with more luſtre than *Mark Anthony*, the Triumvir, whatever care may have been taken by ſome Hiſtorians, who were devoted to his enemies, to diſguiſe his virtues, or exaggerate his errors.

His birth was illuſtrious, and, though of a plebeian houſe, he held the firſt rank among the nobles of *Rome*. He boaſted of being deſcended from *Hercules*, which was, very probably, a fabulous origin, imitating therein the greateſt houſes of *Rome*, who traced their deſcents from the Gods, or the firſt order of heroes. It was undoubtedly on this account, that *Anthony* always affected to wear on ſome part of his habit a mark in memory of *Hercules*.

His grandfather was the famous *Mark Anthony*, the Orator, a man of very ſingular merit and great reputation, who was, for ſome time, the preſerver of the public liberty, and who, having drawn on himſelf the hatred of *Marius*, was at laſt ſacrificed to his reſentment. He was abſolutely in the intereſt of *Sylla*, and perhaps little imagined that his grandſon would one day become the companion of a man, who ſhould reeſtabliſh

eſtabliſhed the party of *Marius* and the people.—An example worthy the attention of all thoſe, who vainly hope to perpetuate their inclinations in their families.

His mother was of the houſe of *Julius*, and for that reaſon the great *Cæſar*, who loved him, would perhaps have adopted him, if, as *Auguſtus* himſelf ſaid, he had believed, that a deſcendant of *Hercules* would not have bluſhed at ſeeing himſelf the ſon by adoption of a deſcendant of *Æneas*. Her ſecond huſband was *Cornelius Lentulus*, a man of great quality and of much conſequence, whom *Cicero* put to death at the time of the *Catiline* conſpiracy. This action inſpired *Julia*, the wife of *Lentulus*, with an invincible hatred againſt *Cicero*, and induced her to prevail on her ſon *Anthony*, by whom ſhe was tenderly loved, to join in her ſentiments. This was undoubtedly the principal cauſe of thoſe differences, and the cruel enmity, which ever afterwards ſubſiſted between thoſe two great men.

There were few people in *Rome* handſomer made than *Anthony*, who was then in the flower of his age, and no one more than himſelf enjoyed the pleaſures of youth. It muſt be confeſſed, that he indulged himſelf in them to exceſs; for his debaucheries and love of pleaſure, which he all his life purſued, were the ſource of his errors, which ended in his ruin. He had little politeneſs in his manners, and as little delicacy in his expreſſions; but then he had a pleaſing freedom, accompanied with agreeable and obliging railery, and

ſomething

ſomething of a noble negligence, which was much admired in a man of his dignity.

Curion, one of the cleareſt underſtandings and moſt ſolid geniuſſes of thoſe times, in the opinion even of *Cicero*, was ſeveral times bound for him in ſuch conſiderable ſums of money, that all his family were aſtoniſhed at it. He rewarded his favours in a becoming manner, and no one could accuſe him of ingratitude. He ſacrificed every thing to the intereſt of his friends. What advantages did not *Clodius* receive from him in the end of his affairs with the Republic? What favours did he not ſhew to *Ventidius*, whom he raiſed from a mean extraction to the firſt dignities? What was his generoſity with reſpect to *Ariſtobulus*, King of the *Jews*, after he had taken him priſoner? And laſtly, is it not inconteſtible, that he was ſo faithful to his friends, that he would never ſubſcribe to any treaty of *Auguſtus*, in prejudice of thoſe promiſes he had made them. "I "will not betray (ſaid he, in a letter which he "wrote to him on this occaſion) the promiſe I "have made to *Dolabella*, nor the friendſhip "which I have for ſo honeſt a man as *Lepidus*, "nor that which I have for *Plancus*," &c.

His generoſity to his domeſtics and officers was unbounded, and his liberality bordered on profuſion. Having one day ordered his treaſurer to count out twenty-five thouſand drachms of ſilver to one of his domeſtics, who had not however done him any very important ſervice, his treaſurer expoſtulated on the largeneſs of the ſum, and

and even took care, before he paid it, to count it out in little pieces in the preſence of *Anthony*, the better to make him ſenſible of his profuſion; but *Anthony*, who ſaw through the artifice, ſaid to him very coolly, *Indeed, twenty-five thouſand drachms appear very little, and take up no great room! Let him have another thouſand!* His orders were accordingly executed, and this mark of his liberality appears the more to advantage, as it was totally diveſted of oſtentation, ſince the whole of the affair paſſed only between him and his treaſurer. It is not ſurpriſing, that by ſuch a conduct as this he gained the eſteem of every one, but principally the hearts of his ſoldiers, over whom all his enemies were compelled to confeſs, that he held an abſolute empire.

They had ſerved under him in the time of the great *Julius*, from whom he learned that admirable method of making war, which will perhaps never be perfectly imitated: they had been witneſſes of the eſteem, which that great man had always ſhewn for him, by entruſting him with the moſt important employments in his army: they every day experienced his aſſiduities, his bounties, and his obliging manners; and, after ſo many victories, and in that high degree of fortune to which he was arrived, he even then condeſcended every day to viſit their tents, and to enquire after their wants and neceſſities.

It was to this happy diſpoſition, that he owed his ſafe arrival in *Gaul*, where, after having been routed by the Senate, he went in queſt of *Lepidus*,

dus, traverſing the *Alps* with an army in want of every thing, without loſing any part of his authority as a General, or the friendſhip of the ſoldiers, to whom, in the great diſtreſſes, to which they were then reduced, he gave the firſt example of moderation and patience. It was not a little remarkable, to ſee the moſt ſumptuous of all men, whoſe table had been conſtantly covered with ſtudied delicacies, and who lived in extreme intemperance, become the moſt ſober in all his army, ſuffering, better than any other, thirſt and hunger, and cauſing the few refreſhments he could procure, to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, in preference to himſelf. Thus never did an army ſo much eſteem their General, nor ever did a General ſo much deſerve that eſteem.

It here ſeems neceſſary, that we ſhould view this great *Roman* under the exalted characters he ſupported; however, without deſcribing every minute circumſtance of his life, we will ſatisfy ourſelves with conſidering him on ſome particular occaſions, in which he appears with the greateſt luſtre, and which ſeem the moſt worthy of our attention, leaving matters of leſs conſequence to the future enquiries of our youthful readers in more copious works.

Let us firſt take a view of him in *Syria*, where he went early in his youth, to ſerve under the governor of that province, who gave him the command of the cavalry. It was here that he ſignalized himſelf againſt *Ariſtobulus*, King of the *Jews*, whom he himſelf took priſoner, after

having gained the battle by his valour. It is a very promiſing introduction into the world, to begin with obtaining a victory, and taking a King. He went immediately afterwards to the aſſiſtance of *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, for whom he took the city of *Peluſium*. It was at this ſiege, that, beſides being the firſt man who mounted the breach, he performed many actions of unparallelled valour, and afterwards prevented, through his love for moderation and humanity, of which he was incapable of diſſembling, all thoſe fatal diſorders, which a town taken by ſtorm generally experiences. It is ſaid, that it was at this time he firſt ſaw *Cleopatra*, whoſe charms at laſt proved his deſtruction.

Let us take a view of him in the plains of *Pharſalia*, where he was the companion of *Cæſar*, on the day of that famous and deciſive victory, to which he contributed ſo much by his courage and conduct: he there commanded the left wing of the army, and would have acquired incomparable glory, if *Cæſar* had not been there. *Cæſar*, having taken on himſelf the Dictatorſhip of *Rome*, he made *Anthony* General of his cavalry, which was a rank of the next importance to that of the Dictator. It was then for the firſt time that he commanded in *Rome* with abſolute power, and in ſubmiſſion only to *Julius*, whom he was not aſhamed to obey.

Let us take a view of him likewiſe in that celebrated conference, which was held after the murder of *Cæſar*, and when that famous Triumvirate

virate was formed, which was the cauſe of ſo much blood being ſhed. *Octavius*, (who was afterwards called *Auguſtus Cæſar*) and *Mark Anthony*, being deſirous of terminating their differences, met, through the mediation of *Lepidus*, near *Boulogne*, in the territory of *Modena*. Here a little river forms almoſt an iſland, which *Lepidus*, having made it convenient, choſe as the propereſt place for their interview. *Auguſtus* and *Anthony* remained on the banks of the river, while *Lepidus* paſſed into the iſland, to viſit the place of their conference, and to remove every appearance of ſurpriſe. He afterwards lifted up his robe, which was the ſignal for the two Generals to approach, when, after leaving at the end of the bridge, conſtructed for the communication, their friends and guards, they advanced to the middle of the iſland, where they embraced each other, and, after having ſhewn all the external marks of the moſt perfect friendſhip, they ſeated themſelves in an open place, that they might be ſeen by their people. *Octavius*, who was then Conſul, ſat in the middle, by virtue of his high office. Their conference laſted two days, and the people were anxious to know the conſequence, as on their concluſions depended the fate of the world. Let us ſee what was the reſult of this conference.

They reſolved to form a new kind of government, conſiſting of three men, which they called a Triumvirate, and which *Auguſtus*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, were to poſſeſs for five years with conſu-

lar power, and the indiſputable authority of chuſing all other magiſtrates of the city. They divided the provinces in this manner: *Anthony* took *Gaul*, except *Narbonnois*, which, together with *Spain*, fell to the lot of *Lepidus*, and *Octavius* had *Africa*, *Sicily*, and the other iſlands, deferring till another time the diviſion of the provinces poſſeſſed by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, againſt whom the war was to be proſecuted by *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*. *Lepidus*, who was intended for Conſul the next year, was obliged to remain at *Rome* to command all *Italy*, and conſequently ſent his lieutenants to govern in *Spain*.

Laſtly, they determined on that horrible Proſcription, which was afterwards executed in *Rome*, and over all the reſt of *Italy*, with ſo much fury, that it deprived the city of her choiceſt and moſt illuſtrious blood, ſince they condemned at leaſt an hundred and forty ſenators, and about two thouſand knights, according to thoſe authors, who make the moſt moderate calculation. Who can form ſuch a ſcene in idea, without ſhuddering with horror at the extravagant ambition of three men, who, in order to become the tyrants of the univerſe, ſpread around them ſuch deſolation and carnage!

Anthony acquired the greateſt glory at *Philippi*, where that famous battle was fought, by which he obtained the name of the *invincible Captain*. He was then ſeen every where dragging victory after him, entirely defeating that wing, which *Caſſius* commanded, and ſome time after giving

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance to *Auguſtus*, who was puſhed hard by *Brutus*, defeating him alſo, and completely finiſhing the victory. What glory! to conquer the two moſt powerful men in oppoſition to their intereſt, and who were regarded with admiration by all the world! The victory was ſo complete, that it put an end to the war, and left the Triumvirate maſters of the univerſe.

It was in this battle, that *Anthony* gave a remarkable proof of his generoſity to *Lucilius*, who was devoted to the intereſt and perſon of *Brutus* in particular. In the rout of the army, *Brutus* was attacked by a very large body of troops, and muſt undoubtedly have been taken priſoner, had not *Lucilius*, who ſaw the danger, demanded quarter, crying out, *I am Brutus! Let me be conducted to Anthony!* By this artifice, he gave *Brutus* time to eſcape. He was then conducted to *Anthony*, to whom he thus ſpoke with much haughtineſs, after having made himſelf known. "I "made uſe of this artifice, to preſerve *Brutus* "from falling alive into the hands of his ene- "mies. The Gods undoubtedly will not al- "ways permit Fortune to have this advantage "over Virtue; but on every occaſion, and in "whatever manner chance may conduct things, "*Brutus* will always be found, whether living "or dead, in a ſituation worthy of his courage. "As for myſelf, I am in your hands, *Anthony!* "My life is at your diſpoſal—you may do with "it what you pleaſe; but you cannot expect, "that ſuch a *Roman* as *Lucilius* will demean "himſelf to beg it of you!"

Anthony, admiring the reſolution and courage of *Lucilius*, replied, "Such a man as you merits "more than I am able to give; but, ſhould I "hear of the death of *Brutus*, to whom you "have been ſo juſt and faithful, I beſeech you "to let me ſupply his place: eſteem me as much "as you have eſteemed him!" In the preſent critical ſituation of *Lucilius*, it would not have been prudent in him to deny *Anthony* the friendſhip he demanded; and certain it is, *Lucilius* promiſed him his friendſhip. As he had to the very laſt faithfully loved *Brutus*, ſo did he *Anthony* in the ſame manner, and never quitted him, not even when he was abandoned by every one elſe.

The public applauſes, which were given *Anthony* on this victory, were the more agreeable, as he knew they were well founded, and ſtill the more pleaſing, as there were mixed with them ſome reproaches againſt the weak conduct of his companion, *Auguſtus*; but this ſecret pleaſure he bought very dear, as it laid the foundation of that irreconcileable hatred of *Auguſtus* againſt him. The diſobliging murmurs, which were heard in the army, were perhaps the invincible obſtacle, that always oppoſed a true accommodation in thoſe wars, which at laſt coſt the empire and the life of *Anthony*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Conſiderations on the Life of Mark Anthony, continued.

SINCE the battle we have juſt mentioned was of ſo much conſequence to the reputation of *Anthony*, and his glory heightened in proportion to the greatneſs of thoſe he conquered, it ſeems neceſſary, without falling into a tedious digreſſion, to give ſome light into the characters of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who make ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure in hiſtory.

Brutus was deſcended, on his father's ſide, from another *Brutus*, who was the principal actor in expelling the Kings of *Rome*; and, on his mother's ſide, from that *Servilius Hola*, who ſlew *Melius* for aſpiring to tyranny: ſo that he ſeems to have been born the ſupporter of liberty. His mother was the uterine ſiſter of *Cato*, that famous philoſopher, whoſe ſeverity and moderation was imitated by *Brutus*. His virtue, though ſevere, was juſt; and, if there was a little prejudice in his conduct, it was for the public good, which was the rule and motive of all his actions.

Caſſius was alſo of a very noble family, but of a character much different from that of *Brutus*: His virtue was not ſo pure, nor his manners ſo ſe-

vere; with reſpect to his own intereſt, he always acted with much art and policy; he was of a military genius, and to his valour had added much experience; he was naturally fierce and haughty, gloomy and abrupt; jealous of the elevation of another, and always preſuming ſufficiently on himſelf never to fear any event.

It is ſaid of theſe two men, that *Caſſius* was the better captain, and *Brutus* the more honeſt man; that we ſhould love the latter as a friend, and fear the former as an enemy: *Caſſius* had much courage, *Brutus* more virtue; and *Velleius Paterculus*, who embraced every opportunity of praiſing and flattering *Auguſtus*, ſays, that if they had conquered, and had become maſters of the empire, it would have been as much to the advantage of the Republic to have *Brutus* for their ſovereign inſtead of *Caſſius*, as it was to have *Auguſtus* rather than *Anthony*. It ſhould ſeem, that this author draws a parallel between theſe two conſpirators and triumvirs, comparing *Caſſius* to *Anthony*, and *Brutus* to *Auguſtus*.

Brutus and *Caſſius* were both of them Prætors, when they conſpired againſt *Cæſar*, from whom *Brutus* in particular had received innumerable favours. After the murder they thought it prudent to quit *Rome*, and fly from the revenge of the people, who were animated by *Anthony* and *Lepidus*; but they were always adored by the Senate, of whom they were indeed the idols. They went into thoſe provinces, where they had the moſt friends, and raiſed an army which ſoon became

became formidable. Their aſſaſſination was gloſſed over by the plea of public liberty; and under this ſpecious pretext, and the name of *Brutus*, whoſe virtue was ſo much extolled, we ſee whole countries enliſting under their banner, even their ſtandards, tents, and armour bearing the marks of their conſpiracy.

This army ſoon became ſo powerful as to enable them to perform conſiderable exploits, and they even found themſelves in a condition to ſeparate, in order to reduce various provinces. *Caſſius* performed great actions, and his valour was never ſo much diſplayed as at that time. At laſt, they joined at *Philippi*, where *Auguſtus* joined *Anthony*.

The want of every thing obliged *Auguſtus* and *Anthony* to endeavour to bring their enemies to a battle, and this very reaſon would have prevented the others from giving it, if *Brutus*, perſuaded by all his officers, who were weary of the horrors of war, or if he himſelf, through ſentiments of virtue, and the love of his country, being aſhamed of having ſo long diſtracted it with civil wars, had not wiſhed to put an end to it by a deciſive battle. All the army applauded this reſolution; but *Caſſius*, who well underſtood the art of war from long experience, perfectly well knew the diſadvantages of their enemies, who could not long keep together in their preſent wants, and therefore oppoſed the deſign of giving battle. However, at laſt, as he was obliged to ſhew great reſpect to *Brutus*, and was accuſed by the ſoldiers of endeavouring to protract the war,

he consented to every thing they desired. It is even reported, that *Cassius* went, the night before the battle, to sup with *Messala*, to whom he said in quitting him, "You are witness that "they oblige me, as they did the great *Pompey*, "to submit the liberty of the *Roman* people to "the chance of a battle. I consent to it much "against my will: we must, however, hope "every thing from Fortune; but we follow a "bad Counsellor."

His fears were in the end justified, and it was his first defeat, after having shewn all the abilities of an able, valiant, and experienced General; for all his art was obliged to give way to the fortune of *Anthony*. *Brutus*, on his side, was more fortunate against *Augustus*; but *Cassius*, distrusting the capacity of *Brutus*, and concluding on his defeat by his own, retired to gain intelligence. At last, hearing no tidings of *Brutus*, and concluding every thing was lost, he killed himself; but in what manner is not certainly known.

This rash and inconsiderate mark of despair but badly corresponded with the character of so great a man as *Cassius*: he ought to have waited patiently at least till he had learned the truth. The soldier, who, by his negligence in bringing the desired intelligence, had contributed to his death, killed himself through grief. It should seem, that in those times they were very hasty in putting a period to life, which, in its utmost extent, is but of a short duration.

Brutus

Brutus received the news of this loſs with all the grief imaginable; and, as he knew the importance of him, he took care to conceal it for ſome time from his ſoldiers, that it might not abate their courage. After having complained of the cruelty of Fortune, in robbing him of the laſt *Roman*, (for ſo he called *Caſſius*) he reſolved once more to try the fate of another battle, that he might at once terminate all the horrors of war, flattered, without doubt, with his good ſucceſs againſt *Auguſtus*, who was timely aſſiſted by *Anthony*, and who, if he had been left to himſelf, would have ruined the hopes of the Triumvirate beyond all recovery; but the ſame *Anthony*, who had defeated *Caſſius*, in the ſame day defeated *Brutus* alſo: he purſued him, and, as we before obſerved, was near taking him priſoner. Never did Fortune lend a more favourable hand to Valour! *Auguſtus*, complaining of an indiſpoſition, was of no ſervice in the army, which infinitely encreaſed the glory of *Anthony*, who, like a torrent, carried every thing before him.

Brutus endeavoured to rally his troops, and put the remains of his conquered army into ſome order of renewing battle; but Fortune declared ſo much in favour of the Triumvirs, that *Brutus* ſaw himſelf abandoned by all his people, without any reſource left for the preſervation of the liberty of his country, to which he had ſacrificed every thing. Being thus left alone, without any other companion than virtue, the ſeverity and purity of which were become ſo uſeleſs and pernicious to him,

him, " Virtue, (cried he) why have I followed " thee all my life, and for thee alone ſa- " crificed pleaſures, riches, and honours, ſince " thou art nothing but a vain phantom without " power? Vice has always the advantage over " thee, and henceforward let no mortal truſt to " thy deceitful protection!" He then fell with violence on the point of his ſword, which he fixed in his heart.

Thus fell theſe two unfortunate men, whom Providence perhaps puniſhed for their aſſaſſination, and with them fell all the hopes of the Senate, and all future proſpects of liberty, for want of properly agreeing in council before this laſt battle, where the diverſity of their views and opinions was the cauſe of their misfortunes: for, though *Caſſius* paid great reſpect to *Brutus*, whoſe virtue and reputation had made him the oracle of his party, and though *Brutus* infinitely eſteemed the valour and conduct of *Caſſius*, they had little real reſpect for each other, and were united only through intereſt.

Caſſius, having no great ſhare of religion, deſpiſed the ſuperſtition and auſterities of *Brutus*, who, having had that celebrated viſion * of his

* While *Caſſius* and *Brutus* were at *Sardis*, the latter, as he was one evening ſitting penſive, and revolving the tranſactions of his life, the memory of *Cæſar* occurring to him, now perhaps not as a traitor, a tyrant, or uſurper, but as one he had loved and murdered, he fancied an apparition appeared to him, which told him he was his evil genius, and would meet him at *Philippi*, to which *Brutus* calmly anſwered, " I will meet thee there."

evil

evil genius, of which ſo much has been ſaid, and having very ſeriouſly related it to *Caſſius*, the latter made anſwer, that it was the effect of his too penſive meditations, and his extraordinary abſtinence, which troubled his brain, and repreſented to his imagination thoſe fatal and extravagant dreams and reveries. *Brutus*, on his ſide, approved not of the artful and diſguiſed conduct of *Caſſius*, which agreed ſo little with the purity of his virtue: he was ſhocked at the contempt, which *Caſſius* ſhewed for all religious ceremonies; and this difference of humour, inclination, and ſentiment, frequently occaſioned altercations, which their prudence and common intereſt always ſtifled in their birth.

Anthony, being informed of the death of *Brutus*, ordered them to conduct him to the place where his body lay. He viewed it with grief, ſhed ſome tears over it, and, to ſhew the reſpect he had for his corpſe, he pulled off his own purple robe, and covered him with it; for the avarice of ſome ſoldiers had already ſtripped the dead body of *Brutus*. *Anthony* ſhewed much eſteem and conſideration for this great man, to whom indeed he was under ſome obligations; for, in the council of the conſpirators, where one of them had propoſed to kill *Anthony* as well as *Cæſar*, all the conſpirators were of the ſame opinion, except *Brutus* only, who never would conſent to it, and firmly ſupported, that they ought only to ſhed the blood of a tyrant. *Auguſtus* ordered the head of *Brutus* to be cut off, and

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ſent to *Rome*, to be placed at the feet of the ſtatue of his father.

If *Anthony* appeared great on theſe occaſions, he became much more ſo afterwards. We cannot, without being dazzled with his glory, view him in the Eaſt, after the diviſion he made with *Auguſtus*. He was followed by legions, which were, beyond all diſpute, the beſt diſciplined in the empire, among which were the young nobility of *Rome*, who went to learn the art of war under this excellent Captain, who, after the death of *Julius*, was undoubtedly the firſt maſter of that profeſſion. His court was always compoſed of many Kings, of all the Princes of *Aſia*, and all the neighbouring ambaſſadors, allies, and tributaries of the *Roman* empire, who acknowledged him only as maſter in the Eaſt.

We there ſee him exerciſing ſovereign authority, and diſpoſing of the lives and fortunes of Kings, depoſing ſome, and ſetting up others, without any one daring to contradict him. The Senate indeed, to preſerve the ſhadow of power, confirmed thoſe Kings, whom he eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt.

How great was the ſplendour and magnificence of his court! What unparallelled grandeur accompanied him every where! Let us imagine we ſee the antichamber of *Mark Anthony*, a *Roman* citizen, filled with a crowd of Kings and Princes, who patiently wait the hour of being permitted to ſpeak to him, and pay him their compliments. We can indeed hardly form an idea of all his

ſplendour,

ſplendour, without appearing to exceed the bounds of credibility. *Julius Cæſar* himſelf, who had been equally powerful, never ſo perfectly enjoyed ſovereign authority; and *Auguſtus*, who governed in the Weſt, crowned likewiſe with victory, was neither ſo abſolute at *Rome*, through the meaſures he was obliged to keep with the Senate and the people, nor ſo magnificent, through the neceſſity in which he found himſelf of prudently uſing the public treaſure, in a place where the people always ſeverely chaſtiſed the diſſipations of the moſt powerful: whereas *Anthony* commanded with a numerous army, in a part of the world extremely rich, and which had been long accuſtomed to ſlavery and oppreſſion, the Kings of theſe provinces having ſtripped the people of every ambition, but that of becoming their chief ſlaves.

What contributed ſtill more to the luſtre and glory of *Anthony*, was the uninterrupted ſucceſs of his Lieutenants, who conquered wherever they went. *Sozius* and *Canidius* performed wonders; but eſpecially *Ventidius*, whoſe valour many times triumphed over the *Parthians*. Theſe victories and triumphs were the more conſiderable, as none but the *Roman* Generals had been able to triumph over theſe people.

All theſe amazing advantages, which *Anthony* enjoyed, and all that grandeur, which ſurrounded him in this exalted ſituation, were not ſufficient to ſecure him from the impreſſions of vice. Take his virtues and defects together, and we may ſay

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of him, as was ſaid of *Alcibiades*, " We cannot " eaſily determine, for which he was moſt fa- " mous, his good or bad qualities." Indeed, we read that he was extremely debauched, and that *Cicero* accuſed him of having given ſhameful proofs, even in his Tribunal, of his drunkenneſs.

It is true, that he had all the paſſions of impetuous youth, in a corrupt age, and in the moſt famous city in the world for libertiniſm: born with all thoſe perfections which nature had given him, he took no care to conquer his paſſions, at a time when vice was ſo prevalent, and when every one of the firſt rank ſacrificed themſelves, without ſcruple, at the Altar of Pleaſure, and gave a fatal example to the lower order of people, who are always ambitious of imitating their ſuperiors. His paſſions were ſtrengthened by the force of example, and gradually encreaſed with his power. It is not at all ſurpriſing, that great diſorders ſhould have ariſen from hence, ſince nothing is more common than for thoſe, who have the power to do every thing, to do that which they ſhould not, and from this cauſe we may account for all the injuſtice and oppreſſion, which reign unpuniſhed in the world.

We know that *Anthony* is reproached for his connections with *Julius Cæſar*, and for the aſſiſtance he gave to that ſubverter of public liberty: but thoſe, who appear to be ſuch rigid obſervers of the laws, and ſuch lovers of liberty, would they not be tempted to the ſame crime, had they the

the abilities of *Anthony*, and the ſame elevated views, which he at that time had?

Anthony is likewiſe reproached for his humiliations, his flatteries, and that crown of gold, which he preſented to *Cæſar*, and at which *Cicero* ſo much exclaimed, as if royalty conſiſted merely in a crown, and that *Cæſar* had not already an abſolute authority. *Anthony* thought it was glorious to obey *Cæſar*, who was born to command mortals, and that he raiſed himſelf, in proportion as he ſubmitted to him. Beſides, in the preſent ſituation of the Republic, which could no longer ſubſiſt without a maſter, *Cæſar* ſeemed of all the moſt eligible for that purpoſe. *Rome* had ſuffered the dominion of *Sylla*, that of *Pompey* afterwards, and laſtly, after *Cæſar*, *Auguſtus* made them ſatisfied with his. The city had long ceaſed to be free; and, excepting ſome few, who were more ambitious of dominion, which they could not obtain, than jealous of the liberty of their country, every one was convinced of the neceſſity of a maſter, and they were divided only in the choice they ſhould make.

No one can preſume to excuſe the horrors of that bloody proſcription, a crime, for which *Anthony* is equally chargeable with *Auguſtus* and *Lepidus*: they carried this cruelty to the higheſt pitch of barbarity, ſince they ſacrificed their neareſt relations and beſt friends. *Lepidus* gave up his brother, and *Anthony* his uncle: they did not die, indeed, becauſe every one feared to murder thoſe, who were ſo nearly related to the Triumvirs.

Rome

Rome was then a prey to avarice, and the inſolence of aſſaſſins and robbers. In theſe times, to be thought rich, was ſufficient to be deemed culpable, as an enemy to the government. The ſoldiers ran through the city as if they had taken it by aſſault, and never was violence carried to ſuch a length, or ſo ſhamefully authoriſed. The names of the proſcribed were engraven, in large characters, on tables expoſed in the moſt public place, that no one might plead ignorance of them, and every day ſome new names were added to them.

They imputed to *Anthony*, (what he was not the author of) the greateſt part of thoſe murders, which were then committed: *Fulvia*, his wife, had too great ſhare in them, who, actuated by a ſpirit of avarice, cruelty and revenge, committed violences, the guilt of which was thrown upon *Anthony*, though he was very often ignorant of them. Once, in particular, the ſoldiers brought him the head of a man, who was among the proſcribed, and whoſe deſtruction had been ſtrongly recommended to them, as being a well-known enemy to their cauſe. *Alas!* ſaid *Anthony* to them, *I know it not: I never before ſaw it in my life!*

The murder, for which he is condemned with the moſt juſtice, and which has given riſe to the invectives of ſo many hiſtorians, was that of *Cicero*, whom *Auguſtus* protected, and whom he however meanly ſacrificed to *Anthony* in their reconciliation—*Cicero*, ſo famous for his eloquence, had raiſed himſelf by his genius to the

firſt dignity of the Republic: he diſcovered and extinguiſhed the conſpiracy of *Catiline*, for which he was ſo much honoured by the Senate, that they ever afterwards conſidered him as the preſerver of his country.

Cicero hated *Anthony*, and, in order to render him odious to the Senate, he compoſed thoſe diſcourſes, which are ſtill in being, and which he delivered with ſo much ſucceſs, that he armed all the city againſt *Anthony*, in favour of *Auguſtus*, and obtained a decree from the Senate, by which *Anthony* was declared an enemy to the Republic. The pleaſure of revenging himſelf on ſo powerful an enemy, who had reaſons to declare for him rather than *Auguſtus*, in conſideration of ſome long-paſt ſervices, was ſufficient to make *Anthony* forget his uſual generoſity: he gave up his uncle, that he might deſtroy *Cicero*, who was killed in his flight. They carried his head to *Anthony*, who, on ſeeing it, expreſſed himſelf thus: *My revenge is now glutted, and I will have no more to do with the Proſcription.* It is ſaid, that *Fulvia* ſome time inſulted the head of *Cicero*, and that ſhe even indulged herſelf in the infamous pleaſure of piercing his tongue ſeveral times with a golden bodkin; after which ſhe cauſed it to be affixed on the Roſtrum, where that great Orator had pronounced thoſe diſcourſes, which at laſt proved his deſtruction.

Of all the defects of *Anthony*, the moſt deplorable, without doubt, was his weakneſs for *Cleo-*

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patra: the faults, which Love cauſed him to commit, were all of them irreparable; and it is not eaſy to conceive, how ſo great a man could abandon himſelf with ſo little reſerve to all the violence of an amorous paſſion. We will further conſider this matter in the next chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Conſiderations on the Life of Mark Anthony, concluded.

CLEOPATRA was but in the ſpring of youth when *Anthony* began to love her. *Julius Cæſar* had loved her a long time before, and it is ſaid, that the eldeſt ſon of the great *Pompey* ſighed ſome time for her. This Queen, whoſe charms were ſo fatal to the greateſt men, had found the ſecret of preſerving her beauty, and was ſo complete a miſtreſs of diſſimulation, that ſhe knew how to pleaſe, on every occaſion, whenever ſhe thought proper to attempt it.

With all theſe mental and perſonal advantages, ſhe poſſeſſed a very rich and powerful kingdom, of which ſhe was ſole miſtreſs after her amours with *Cæſar*. This enabled her to appear with that extraordinary magnificence, which heightened the natural beauty of her charms. Let us figure to ourſelves that pompous galley, which ſhe equipped to convey her to *Anthony*, who had ordered her to attend him, that ſhe might give an account of her conduct; for ſhe had taken the part of the conſpirators. The beauties of this galley were ſo great, that every one quitted *Anthony*, who was then ſeated on his Tribunal, to run

run to this ſpectacle, the moſt beautiful that had ever been ſeen in thoſe times, or perhaps ever ſince. The ſails were of purple ſilk, and the oars of ſilver; the ſtern was of gold, and on the deck was a canopy of gold tiſſue, under which *Cleopatra*, habited like *Venus*, reclined; ſhe was ſurrounded by nymphs, dreſſed to reſemble the Graces, and beautiful boys fanned her, like ſo many *Cupids*; no martial muſic was heard on this occaſion, but viols, flutes, and the ſofteſt inſtruments played the tendereſt airs, while the moſt delicate perfumes ſpread enchanting odours over all the ſhore. The people cried, that it was the Goddeſs *Venus* come to pay a viſit to the God *Bacchus*. *Anthony* was not in the leaſt diſguſted at this, as they compared him to a God. Never was any thing ſo ſumptuous, and never did natural beauty appear ſo much to advantage, as that of *Cleopatra* in this equipage. The heart of *Anthony*, ſenſible as it was, could not reſiſt ſo many charms. We may eaſily ſuppoſe, that the conduct of this Queen was approved, and that he thought it but reaſonable in her magnificence to pardon the ſteps ſhe had taken, in oppoſition to the intereſt of the Triumvirate.

What appears ſurpriſing is, that this magnificence, inſtead of diminiſhing, daily encreaſed; and certain it is, that all the revenues of the empire, which *Anthony* laviſhed to amuſe her, were not able to ſurpaſs the grandeur of *Cleopatra*, who had no other ſupplies, than thoſe which her own kingdom afforded; but ſhe had the art

art of ſupplying in her mind, every thing ſhe wanted in expences. We muſt not, however, give implicit faith to all the profuſions mentioned by hiſtorians. We cannot, without aſtoniſhment, hear ſpeak of that enormous pearl, which ſhe diſſolved and drank, having one day diſputed with *Anthony*, who could give the richeſt feaſt. Never was folly carried to ſo high a pitch; and in what light muſt we view her, ſince *Anthony*, the moſt prodigal of all men, could not help grieving at this loſs. It was at one of theſe feaſts, that *Anthony* gave a conſiderable city to his cook, for only having happened to pleaſe his palate.

Theſe extravagant profuſions, which were every day renewed, and which exhauſted the revenues of the empire, deprived *Anthony* of the means of maintaining his army, and paying his ſoldiers: he was therefore obliged to have recourſe to extravagant and vexatious taxes, which highly diſpleaſed the *Romans*, and thoſe in particular, who were privately attached to *Auguſtus*. They wrote to *Rome*, and informed them of the furious paſſion, which *Anthony* had for *Cleopatra*, to whom he had given *Phenicia*, the Lower *Syria*, the iſle of *Cyprus*, a great part of *Cilicia*, beſides *Arabia Felix*, and part of *Judea*, all which were the richeſt and moſt beautiful provinces in the empire of the Eaſt, and which he had united to the kingdom of that Queen. They mentioned in their letters the impriſonment of *Artabaſes*, King of *Armenia*, whom *Anthony* had taken by ſurpriſe, and whoſe kingdom he gave to a ſon

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brought him by *Cleopatra*, after having confined that Prince in chains of gold, and dragged him through *Alexandria* in triumph. This laſt action was conſidered by the *Romans* as an unpardonable crime; becauſe they pretended, that the honours of a triumph belonged to *Rome* only. They did not forget to mention the luxury with which *Anthony* was intoxicated, and that he was hardly able to perform the duties of a General and a Maſter, in that vaſt tract of land, which had ſubmitted to the power of the *Romans*; that the expedition againſt the *Parthians*, which had ſucceeded ſo badly, and which threw diſgrace on the *Roman* name, might have raiſed the glory of a man, who, leſs impatient than *Anthony* to ſee his miſtreſs, would have contentedly paſſed the winter in *Armenia*; that he was every day promoting ſlaves and freedmen, the miniſters of *Cleopatra*'s paſſion, while men of real merit and abilities remained in obſcurity and indigence; and that, laſtly, the Queen of *Egypt* called herſelf the true wife of *Anthony*, in oppoſition to the inviolable laws of *Rome*; and that he had ſeveral children by her, to the diſgrace of his lawful wife.

Auguſtus, who was jealous of the merit of *Anthony*, had already too much inclination to hate him; but he was a complete maſter of diſſimulation, and knew very well how to conceal his hatred. It was with infinite pleaſure he heard the murmurs of the court of *Anthony*, which he privately endeavoured to encreaſe; and, as ſoon

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as he ſaw matters arrived at the pitch he wiſhed for, he ſpoke of the miſconduct of *Anthony* to the Senate, exclaiming againſt his immenſe profuſions, and the indignity offered his country, in the marriage of a *Roman* chief to a Queen. He was further accuſed of having read letters of galantry in his Tribunal, while he was ſitting in judgment on Kings. This laſt accuſation, which, in an age like ours, would be eaſily overlooked, was however the principal cauſe of determining the Senate to declare againſt *Anthony*, the gravity of the *Roman* magiſtrates being much greater than one would imagine, and this example alone ſhould convince us of it.

Fulvia, the wife of *Anthony*, ſtrongly ſupported the intereſt of her huſband, notwithſtanding his infidelity. She was deſcended from one of the moſt noble and ancient Plebeian families, and had firſt been the wife of *Clodius*, by whom ſhe had a daughter, living at the time ſhe married *Anthony*: ſhe was ſtill young, beautiful, and of a quick and active diſpoſition; ſhe had a heart ſenſible to injuries, which eaſily prompted her to revenge, mixing with thoſe ſentiments ſomething fierce and cruel, and having little of the delicacy of a woman. We ſhall preſently ſee, that ſhe was not inſenſible to love.

As ſhe ſaw *Auguſtus* was endeavouring to deſtroy the grandeur of her huſband, and to diſcredit him in the Senate, ſhe joined her intereſt to that of *Lucius Antonius*, her brother-in-law, who was then Conſul. She brought into their

intereſt many people, from whom *Auguſtus* had taken lands, to diſtribute among the veterans of his army, without taking notice of *Anthony*'s ſoldiers, who had been equally productive of victory; and this furniſhed a very plauſible pretext for complaint. The Conſul *Lucius*, in order to engage the greater part of the city in his intereſt, exclaimed againſt the Triumvirate, and reminded them, that it was time for the Republic to be reſtored to her former liberty; that he promiſed his brother ſhould reſign his part, as ſoon as *Auguſtus* ſhould do the ſame; and that it was too hard any longer to ſuffer Kings at *Rome*, under the name of Triumvirs.

We may ſafely conclude, that all this parade of public liberty was only with a private view to make *Auguſtus* odious. Theſe meaſures, however, reunited all the friends of *Anthony*, who were very numerous, and who, ſeconded by the people, whoſe rebellion was the laſt thing expected, they began the war in the Weſt againſt *Auguſtus*, under the orders of *Fulvia*, with whom every thing at laſt very badly ſucceeded. *Lucius Antonius*, after the taking of *Peruſia*, was obliged to ſubmit to *Auguſtus*. His having defended this place to the utmoſt extremity, ſhould ſeem to contradict the character given of *Lucius* by many hiſtorians, who repreſent him as poſſeſſed of all the bad qualities of his brother, without one of his virtues.

The conduct of *Fulvia* was admired at *Rome*: ſhe appeared inſenſible to the affronts ſhe received

ceived from her inconſtant huſband: ſhe oppoſed every enterpriſe that was formed againſt him; and, while *Anthony* ſlept in a weak and effeminate repoſe, ſhe took on herſelf the important charge of defending him againſt his enemies. How great would have been the glory of *Fulvia*, if her duty and virtue had been the foundation of her conduct!—But it was love, which armed her againſt *Auguſtus*.

Fulvia, having made known to *Auguſtus* the paſſion ſhe had conceived for him, was aſhamed of finding him inſenſible to her charms. She knew not how to pardon herſelf for a weakneſs, which was repaid with contempt, and gave way to thoſe reflections, which awakened her natural ferocity. She eagerly embraced the opportunity, which the commencement of differences between the Triumvirs ſo opportunely afforded her, and was even deſirous, that *Auguſtus* ſhould not be ignorant of his having brought on himſelf this war by the contempt he had ſhewn her. She believed he would have reaſon to fear the conſequences of this inſurrection, as the number and credit of the friends of *Anthony* were very conſiderable. *Auguſtus* informs us, in one of his epigrams, of the particulars of this affair, wherein he ſays, that *Fulvia* raiſed this ſtorm againſt him only to induce him to become ſenſible to her charms, and to aſſiſt her in her revenge on the infidelity of her huſband.

Auguſtus, who never loved but through policy, and who, it is ſaid, was a ſtranger to every

other paſſion, than what his intereſt or ambition inſpired, was unwilling to ſtifle in its birth this formidable war, by being leſs averſe to the charms of a young and beautiful woman; but, in order to deſtroy every knot, which connected him to *Anthony*, he repudiated his wife *Clodia*, the daughter of *Fulvia*, and of *Clodius*, her firſt huſband; and thus raiſed in the heart of *Fulvia* a violent flame of rage and deſpair, when ſhe went even to the camp of *Anthony*, with a ſword by her ſide, and a helmet on her head, to animate by her own example, or rather by her madneſs and fury, an army ſhe was deſirous of commanding.

Some politicians, on examining the conduct of *Anthony* at this time, have ſuppoſed, that he was not in the leaſt diſpleaſed with the commencement of this war, well knowing his power and fortune, and being fully perſuaded, that he ſhould always find means to patch up a peace, ſuppoſing events ſhould not turn out favourable to his great deſign of obtaining univerſal monarchy.

This part of the hiſtory of *Anthony* appears very ſingular. *Anthony* loved *Cleopatra*, by whom he was perhaps never ſincerely reſpected; for the artful conduct of this expert Queen, who knew ſo well how to accommodate herſelf to the humours of thoſe whom ſhe wiſhed to ſeduce by her feints and diſſimulations, which are particularly ſhewn in her effort to captivate *Auguſtus*, leaves no room to doubt, that *Anthony* poſſeſſed but a very

very ſmall ſhare of her heart. *Dellius*, who was the confidant of *Anthony*'s paſſion, and who had been entruſted with the firſt negociations of this intrigue, had found out the art of making himſelf beloved by *Cleopatra*. *Anthony* was always ignorant of their ſecret correſpondence; and perhaps *Dellius* was the only man, whom that Queen loved through real inclination.

Fulvia loved *Auguſtus*, who deſpiſed her, and who took pleaſure in acquainting *Anthony* of the weakneſs of his wife. The inſenſibility of *Auguſtus* revenged *Anthony* on the ſhameful ſentiments of his wife; and *Fulvia* endeavoured to revenge the ſeverities of *Auguſtus* by the arms and credit of her huſband, whoſe name and authority ſhe employed in the execution of this war.

The ſucceſs of her arms in the weſt was however unfortunate, and ſhe was obliged to fly in queſt of her huſband, who, having been likewiſe defeated on his ſide, went to *Samos* with *Cleopatra*, in order to prepare for an extenſive war. It was in this iſland, that he gave his orders to all the Kings, Princes, Sovereigns, and nations, who were any ways connected with the *Roman* empire, to come themſelves, or ſend money, ſoldiers, and arms, neceſſary for this expedition. He added to theſe orders a kind of manifeſto, which contained his reaſons for undertaking this war againſt *Auguſtus*, who aimed at becoming ſole maſter of the empire. Among theſe reaſons, he was careful not to omit the injuſtice of *Auguſtus*, who had deprived *Lepidus*

of the dignity of his ſhare in the Triumvirate, and who had appropriated all the riches to his own uſe, without allowing either *Lepidus* or the *Roman* people a ſhare in them.

The death of *Fulvia*, which happened at *Sicyone*, occaſioned by the perpetual grief, to which ſhe had abandoned herſelf after the ill ſucceſs of her affairs, gave the ſoldiers of both parties room to inſiſt, with much earneſtneſs, on an accommodation, for which they had a long time wiſhed; and they imagined there would be little difficulty in obtaining it after the death of this woman, whom they very well knew was the firſt cauſe of the war. The *Roman* ſoldiers had ſufficient credit with their Generals, to oblige them ſometimes to do what they were moſt averſe to: it was therefore neceſſary, that a peace ſhould be concluded between *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*. *Octavia* was the pledge of this peace, by the marriage, which ſhe contracted with *Anthony*.

Octavia was the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*, and the widow of *Marcellus*: her beauty, even in the opinion of *Anthony*, ſurpaſſed that of *Cleopatra*, and her virtue was ſo clear from blemiſh, that even the buſy tongue of ſlander could not reproach it, and that in a city, where thoſe of the firſt rank were but little virtuous, and where the people paid no regard to the quality of perſons, in cenſuring thoſe, whoſe conduct was not regular.

The people expected, that a laſting peace would be the conſequence of this alliance, and they

they doubted not that a wife, who poſſeſſed ſo many accompliſhments, would fix the attention of *Anthony*, and by that means remove all cauſe of future diviſions; but thoſe, who viewed things in a clearer light, were fully perſuaded, that *Anthony* would always live as he had begun, and that the moſt agreeable pleaſures would be diſguſtful to a man of his character, as ſoon as they became no longer a matter of choice. Though *Anthony* lived at *Rome* with *Octavia* in the moſt perfect union, *Auguſtus* and he were always finding ſome cauſe for diſputes. The empire of the univerſe could not content the ambition of two men, who governed with equal power; but who knew not how to give way to each other: ſo true it is, that ſupreme power cannot be divided.

Indeed, their quarrels broke out afreſh, as ſoon as *Auguſtus* found a favourable opportunity. *Anthony*, having left *Octavia* at *Rome*, returned to *Egypt*, to revifit *Cleopatra*. There he immediately renewed his former exceſſes, profuſions, and debaucheries, which furniſhed *Auguſtus* with reaſonable cauſe for complaint againſt him. He had now a right to repreſent the injury done his ſiſter, in the contempt ſhewn her by *Anthony*; and this was a moſt fortunate plea for *Auguſtus*, as it ſo happily concealed his real motives.

We can hardly any where find ſo amiable a character as that of *Octavia*, who, though her rank and fortune placed her in the higheſt female claſs of the Republic, with all the advantages of

mind and perſon, and the moſt conſummate virtue, ſuffered, without complaints, the ill treatment of an inconſtant huſband, whoſe part ſhe ſtrenuouſly ſupported, in conjuring her brother to intereſt himſelf leſs in the cauſe, and to leave to her the care of bringing back a roving huſband to his duty. She even undertook a voyage into *Egypt*, in order to find *Anthony*, and to repreſent to him, with all that ſweet power of perſuaſion, which was natural to her, his true intereſts, thoſe of his children, and that of the empire in general: ſhe reminded him of the formidable power of *Auguſtus*, who ſought every opportunity to lay the foundation of his fame on the wreck of *Anthony*'s, and who was trying every artifice to prejudice him in the minds of his old friends: ſhe conjured him, by the love of himſelf, to abandon *Cleopatra*, and thereby deprive his enemies of every argument againſt him: ſhe accompanied theſe words with all thoſe charms, which innocence derives from prudence and virtue, and which made ſome impreſſions on the loſt heart of *Anthony*. He ſaw the propriety of her reaſoning, and was ſenſible of his errors, as well as of the dangers he incurred; but he followed the dictates of his evil genius, and the remonſtrances of one of the moſt faithful wives that ever exiſted, could not ſave him from the abyſs, into which he was haſtily plunging. We may ſafely venture to call her one of the moſt faithful wives, ſince, notwithſtanding the repeated marks of contempt, which ſhe received from an inconſtant huſ-

huſband, who ſent her away without giving her the leaſt ſatisfaction, ſhe inſtantly broke off all connections with her brother, on his beginning the war againſt *Anthony*. She quitted the houſe, in which he deſired her to live, and retired into one of *Anthony*'s, where ſhe had the generoſity, to bring up the children of *Anthony* by *Fulvia* with the ſame tenderneſs as her own. She always intereſted herſelf, to the utmoſt of her power, in the ſupport of thoſe, who eſpouſed the cauſe of her huſband.—Let the youthful part of my fair readers here pauſe for a moment, and compare the character of *Octavia* with that of *Fulvia*. Let them learn from thence, how fatal and deteſtable is the gratification of lawleſs paſſions; how ſweet and amiable the love of prudence and virtue!—

This expedition of *Octavia*, however, gave *Cleopatra* much uneaſineſs; and here it ſeems no ways improper to enquire into the character of this Queen. She loaded *Anthony* with the fetters of love by all the artifices imaginable, and this love was productive of the war, which *Auguſtus* had begun, or at leaſt his pretence for it. Every time ſhe heard ſpeak of an accommodation, and that the friends of *Anthony* were contriving means to tear him from her arms, ſhe would appear to be ſo overwhelmed with grief, as to be thought even almoſt expiring.

The arrival of *Octavia* was to *Cleopatra* like a clap of thunder from the clouds. The Queen had heard much talk of this lady as the moſt accompliſhed woman in the empire: She feared

her beauty, the reaſons of her journey, and even the graces of novelty, ſince ſhe had not ſeen *Anthony* for a long time; but, when ſhe learned that this dangerous rival had been in conference with *Anthony*, ſhe ſpoke like one deprived of her ſenſes, and, in the tranſport of fury, fainted in reality, and ſeemed to wiſh for death. When ſhe ſaw *Anthony* wavering and irreſolute, ſhe exhauſted her treaſury in bribing his friends, or thoſe who had any power over his mind, in hopes of diſcovering his true ſentiments, and moſt ſecret purpoſes.

At laſt, the delicacies of *Egypt* prevailed over the virtues of *Rome*, and *Cleopatra* accompliſhed her deſigns: her charms and her artifices triumphed over the beauty and innocence of *Octavia*; *Anthony* continued with *Cleopatra*, and his wife was ſent home. He read in the eyes of his miſtreſs the joy ſhe felt at this mark of his preference. She proteſted, that death would be more pleaſing to her than to ſee him depart; and, in order to make him amends for the war ſhe had occaſioned, ſhe fitted out a powerful naval armament, which ſhe joined to that of *Anthony*, and found means to ſupply him with money for the ſupport of his troops.

Were we to judge of hearts from appearances, and the deſigns of this Queen from her preſent conduct, we ſhould conclude, that ſhe was violently in love with *Anthony*, and that ſhe would not heſitate to chuſe the moſt cruel death, rather than ſuſtain the loſs of her lover. *Anthony* himſelf

ſelf judged of it in this manner; and, indeed, how could he think otherwiſe? He was one of the moſt amorous men, and this was ſufficient to make him believe her as fond as himſelf. He had never reflected on the artifices of this Princeſs, and he was ignorant of the ſecret connections between her and *Dellius*.

However, this very ſame *Cleopatra*, whoſe life ſeemed wholly devoted to the intereſt of *Anthony*, ſhamefully abandoned him: by her flight ſhe expoſed him to the power of his enemy, and from that day formed the deſign of captivating the conqueror, as ſhe before had *Anthony*.—A perfidy, of which we every day ſee examples, and which ought to convince us, that we ſhould never be off our guard, if we would wiſh to avoid the treachery of leud and perfidious women. It is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that ſo important an affair as that of *Actium*, which was the beginning of the monarchy of *Auguſtus*, and the fall of *Anthony*, ſhould not open the eyes of ſo great a man as the latter was!

There were, on that important day, on the banks of *Actium*, upwards of two hundred thouſand men in arms, attentive to this bloody ſea-fight, in which were all the Kings of *Aſia*, who came to the aſſiſtance of *Anthony*. The *Roman* troops were commanded by *Canidius*, *Anthony's* Lieutenant, on one ſide; and by *Agrippa*, the Lieutenant of *Auguſtus*, on the other. The ſea was covered with more than ſeven hundred ſhips of war, of which thoſe belonging to *Anthony* were very

very large; but thoſe belonging to *Auguſtus*, though ſmaller in ſize and number, were better equipped. Every thing being prepared for the battle, *Anthony*, recovering himſelf a little, for ſome moments forgot his *Cleopatra*: he paſſed through all the diviſions of his fleet, animated the ſoldiers by the remembrance of ſo many victories, and by the importance of this battle, which was to give the empire of the world to the conqueror: he promiſed them rewards proportioned to the extent of the ſervice they ſhould do him. *Auguſtus* propoſed no rewards to his people, being the more confident of obtaining the victory, as ſeveral proſperous omens had that morning declared in his favour.

A wind riſing ſuddenly, the battle began. The ſhips of *Anthony* were ſo heavy, that they could not eaſily turn, and were like ſo many floating cities, beſieged by the ſhips of *Auguſtus*, which were very light, and eaſily ſhifted from one quarter to another. They fought for ſome time, with equal valour on both ſides, when the ſixty veſſels belonging to *Cleopatra*, which were equipped with ſuch magnificence as had till then never been ſeen, advanced, with their ſails ſpread, between the two fleets. This motion appeared ſo very extraordinary, that the two Generals ſtopped to conſider the cauſe and the event. *Anthony*, who was naturally more attentive than any one elſe to the deſigns of that Princeſs, ſunk into the deepeſt deſpair, when he ſaw thoſe ſixty veſſels turning to the coaſt of *Peleponeſus*. Then it was,

that

that the valour of a *Roman* gave way to the power of imprudent love, ſince, without conſidering the ſhame, which would attend him in his flight, he followed *Cleopatra* with as much rapidity, as though he had been purſuing the veſſel, in which *Auguſtus* himſelf commanded. Let us in charity ſay of him, that he fled not from his enemy, but that he purſued his perfidious miſtreſs. His ſhips obſtinately continued the engagement ſome time after he was gone; but *Auguſtus* having ordered them to be aſked for whom they fought, and whether they had any General, they began to recollect themſelves, and then put an end to the battle. *Agrippa*, who was entruſted with the conduct of the army of *Auguſtus*, gained a complete victory; and *Auguſtus* from that day became maſter of the world, which *Anthony* loſt by his weak attachments to a lewd woman. The land forces, ſeeing the fate of the navy, and totally diſcouraged by the flight of *Anthony*, ſurrendered to *Auguſtus*, having loſt their General *Canidius*, who was killed at the beginning of the battle.

All *Anthony*'s veterans, who ſeemed to have a ſecret foreboding of their misfortune, had repreſented to him, through the means of an old officer, that fighting by ſea would be very diſagreeable to them; that they had conquered *Pompey*, *Brutus*, and *Caſſius* by land; that their ſwords and bucklers were very improper for the uſe of ſuch tottering battlements; that they were entirely ignorant of naval engagements, where valour was ſo uncertain of ſucceſs, and where

victory

victory depended on ſo many arts, with which they were unacquainted. Theſe wiſe and zealous remonſtrances of an army, who ſincerely loved their General, could not prevail over the will of *Cleopatra*, who had reſolved on a naval engagement, without doubt, that ſhe might have the better opportunity of deſerting him. Certain it is, that his defeat was principally owing to her, and the blind paſſion, with which ſhe had inſpired him. Inſtead of collecting the remains of his army, he joined *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*, where, having reſolved to make new efforts to oppoſe his enemy, he ſhewed by his actions, that there was no enterpriſe, of which his valour was not capable of undertaking; but *Cleopatra*, continuing to betray him, privately delivered up *Peluſium* to *Auguſtus*. Such was the folly of *Anthony*, that, though he ſaw himſelf ruined beyond all hopes of recovery, yet he could not hate the firſt and only cauſe of his misfortunes.

Every thing then gave way to the conqueror: *Anthony*'s beſt friends abandoned him, in order to ſeek better fortune under *Auguſtus*. Among others, *Domitius*, who had always been the enemy of *Cleopatra*, and who had never called her by the name of Queen, quitted the camp of *Anthony* by night, with ſo much precipitation, that he left behind him his family, and all his equipage, and ſurrendered himſelf to *Auguſtus*, who received him with thoſe marks of reſpect, which the name and merit of *Domitius* commanded.

Anthony,

Anthony, who had not forgotten, even amidſt his preſent misfortunes, his natural generoſity, ſent his wife and baggage to the camp of *Auguſtus*, ſaying, that he had never obliged any one to ſerve under him by force. His principal officers followed, one after another, the example of *Domitius*, and all ſubmitted themſelves to the will of *Auguſtus*. There now remained no other hopes to *Anthony*, than to challenge his enemy to ſingle combat; but he ought to have known better, than to ſuppoſe *Auguſtus* would accept it, nor indeed was it reaſonable, that, after ſo many advantages, which had made him abſolute maſter of the world, he ſhould ſubmit his fate to a ſingle combat with a man, whom deſpair had made furious, and with whoſe valour he was well acquainted. He immediately returned for anſwer, that ſuch a man as *Anthony*, who was reduced to the laſt extremity, ſhould think of quitting life by ſome other means, than that of a ſingle combat.

Anthony, now ſeeing himſelf totally ruined, abandoned by all his allies, friends, and domeſtics, (except his faithful *Eros*, whom he had made free, and *Lucilius*, who, as we before obſerved, was cloſely connected with him after the death of *Brutus*) unable any longer to bear up under his misfortunes, ſunk into the utmoſt deſpair; and, upon a falſe report of *Cleopatra* having killed herſelf, he was aſhamed of being taught by the example of a woman, what in thoſe days was conſidered as the laudable reſource

of

of great minds in diſtreſs. "It is time, my "dear *Eros*, (ſaid *Anthony*) that you ſhould per- "form that promiſe you have ſo often made me: "I wait from your faithful hand for that happy "blow, which ſhall finiſh both my life and my "torments."

Eros was ſo overwhelmed with grief, that he ſtabbed himſelf, and in falling threw the poinard to his maſter. "Is it poſſible! (cried *Anthony*, "admiring this generous example of virtue and "fidelity) is it poſſible, that I have yet my duty "to learn of a woman and my ſervant!" In pronouncing theſe words, he ſeized the poinard, and ſtruck himſelf with it. He fell upon a bed; but the noiſe which he made in his fall, brought into the room the few people that remained; and, as if death had ſhunned this great man, the blow he had given himſelf was not ſufficient to diſpatch him. He entreated them to finiſh that bloody tragedy; but no one could ſupport ſo ſorrowful a ſight, and every one forſook him, leaving him in a condition, that would have excited the pity of his moſt cruel enemies.

At laſt, one of his people entered to inform him, that *Cleopatra* ſtill lived. At this news, he ſeemed to recover new life, and earneſtly entreated them to carry him to the walls of that tower, where ſhe was ſhut up. His requeſt was granted; and how affecting was the ſcene that paſſed in the remaining moments of his life! In him we ſaw the vanquiſher of ſo many nations, the companion of the great *Julius Cæſar*, and the

object of adoration in the Eaſt, almoſt expiring in his blood, carried by his ſoldiers, and drawn up by a machine to the top of the tower, where *Cleopatra* was extending her arm to receive him, and this in the ſight of all the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, who expreſſed their grief by tears and lamentations.

Cleopatra, who had ſhut herſelf up in this tower, and who had ſpread the report of her death, for reaſons we are not acquainted with, and who had reſolved to put a period to her life ſoon after, (whether through the reflection of having been the deſtruction of ſo great a man, or that ſhe ſaw all her new projects defeated) ſhe could not help weeping on ſeeing *Anthony* in this deplorable ſtate. "Weep not for me, Madam, "(ſaid *Anthony*) my paſt life has afforded no cir-"cumſtance, at which I now need to bluſh. I "die, after having been the firſt *Roman*. I am "conquered by having been too faithful to my "love; but, thanks to the Gods, I am con-"quered by a *Roman*, without leaving the leaſt "room for any one to doubt my courage, and "my defeat has nothing in it reproachful. I die "loaded with honours, triumphs, and victories, "in the arms of the moſt perfect Princeſs in the "world, and the only perſon whom I adore!"*

Theſe

* *Cleopatra*, long before the death of *Anthony*, had been trying, on ſlaves and various animals, what kind of poiſon afforded the eaſieſt death; and, after various experiments, diſcovered that the bite of an Aſp gave the leaſt pain.

Theſe were the laſt words which *Anthony* pronounced, and which diſcovered the genuine character of a *Roman*, who, though he deſpiſed *Auguſtus*, confeſſed that he was not aſhamed of being conquered by him. Nothing but victories obtained by barbarians were diſgraceful to a *Roman*; and, in the revolutions of the Republic, the *Romans* always preſerved that love for their country, and that eſteem for their fellow-citizens.

pain. *Anthony* being now dead, and *Cleopatra* having received certain intelligence, that *Auguſtus* intended to ſend her to *Rome* to adorn his triumph, ſhe reſolved to diſappoint him, by putting a period to her life. Having watered *Anthony*'s ſepulchre with her tears, and crowned his tomb with garlands of flowers, ſhe returned to her apartments, where, after a ſplendid entertainment, ſhe called for a baſket of figs, and, in a moment, laid down on her couch, as if ſhe had been going to ſleep. She had applied to her arm the Aſp, which was hid among the figs, and which, having diffuſed its venom to her heart, had killed her impereceptibly, and without pain.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Memoirs of Marcus Tullius Cicero, including the Conſpiracy of Lucius Sergius Catiline.

HAVING very ſparingly mentioned, in the preceding part of this volume, the actions and abilities of *Cicero*, it may not be improper here to beſtow part of one chapter to the memory of the firſt of all *Roman* Orators.

Cicero was born in the city of *Arpinum* in *Tuſcany*, in the year 647 from the foundation of *Rome*, and about 107 years before the *Chriſtian* æra. We find, from the many accounts given of his perſon by the ancients, that he was tall and ſlender, his neck very long, his viſage manly, and his features regular; his countenance ſo free and compoſed, that it at once commanded from every one both tenderneſs and reſpect. His conſtitution indeed was weakly; but he had ſo happily ſtrengthened it by frugality and temperance, that he found himſelf able to endure the fatigues of a very laborious life, and a conſtant application to ſtudy. In the ornament of dreſs, which the wiſe have always conſidered as the index of the ſoul, he obſerved that medium which modeſty and decency preſcribed to his rank and character, and

ſtudied

ſtudied propriety freed of affectation: he avoided every appearance of ſingularity, neither ſinking into a ſlovenly negligence, or riſing into an exceſſive delicacy.

Nothing could be more amiable than his conduct and behaviour in his domeſtic life, and in the ſociety of his friends: he was an indulgent father, a zealous and ſincere friend, and a ſenſible and generous maſter. His temper was naturally chearful, and his mind turned much upon rallery. The uſe which he made of this diſpoſition, in public affairs, was always ſo much confined, as ſeldom to draw on him the leaſt reproach; but in the company of particulars, he gave a looſe to his wit, and ſpared no one, whatever uneaſineſs it might cauſe them.

He frequently viſited *Parnaſſus*, but this only for amuſement, and with a view to unbend his mind from other ſtudies; for his favourite purſuit was eloquence. To this he conſecrated all the faculties of his ſoul, and never did any other mortal carry it to ſuch perfection. *Demoſthenes* was his model. If it is true, which ſome authors inſiſt on, that *Cicero* had neither the force, nor, as he himſelf calls it, the thunder of *Demoſthenes*, yet he exeeeded him in the grace and fluency of his language, in the variety of his ſentiments, and, above all, in the livelineſs of his genius.

If this illuſtrious man had his defects (and what mortal is without them!) they muſt be attributed leſs to his will than his natural conſtitution. It has been obſerved by many hiſtorians, that

that he was too much elated in proſperity, too much dejected in adverſity, and that, in either of theſe ſituations, he too eaſily perſuaded himſelf they would know no end. The moſt powerful paſſion that raged in his heart was his thirſt for glory, and his love of popular applauſe was never to be ſatisfied: he confeſſed himſelf, that he nouriſhed it with indulgence, and often permitted it to border even upon vanity. We muſt, however, pardon this blemiſh in his character, in conſideration of his eminent virtues and ſublime talents, which were ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed whenever he bore the office of a Magiſtrate.

Cicero, in the very early part of his life, quitted *Rome* and went to *Athens*, in order to perfect himſelf under the moſt illuſtrious *Grecian* orators, whom he ſoon exceeded. *Apollonius Molon*, one of the moſt illuſtrious among them, ſo plainly perceived his wonderful abilities, that having one day heard him harangue, he ſeemed to refuſe *Cicero* thoſe praiſes, which every one beſides gave him, and remained ſome time penſive. When *Cicero* required him to give a reaſon for ſuch conduct, he anſwered, "Alas! I undoubtedly both praiſe and admire you; but I pity "the fate of *Greece*: ſhe muſt no longer boaſt "of the glory of eloquence, ſince you will carry "it from hence and tranſplant it in *Rome*."

This great orator had that inſinuating grace in his geſture and pronunciation, which, by preposſeſſing the auditor, ſeemed to give additional powers to his diſcourſes. Some hiſtorians aſſure us, that

that he was perfected in the graces of action by the inſtructions of *Roſcius* and *Eſop*, two of the moſt accompliſhed theatrical performers of that age. It is, however certain, that *Cicero's* opinion was, that the ſchool of the Theatre was not adapted to that of Oratory; becauſe that the geſtures of an Actor are too mechanical, too effeminate, and more adapted to the expreſſion of words than to the nature of things.

Cicero was very happy in the pleaſantries, which he always introduced in his pleadings; but theſe were of ſuch a nature, and ſo properly applied, as never to raiſe him many enemies. Every one, even thoſe who were not heartily his friends, could not but do juſtice to his ſublime virtues and courage, ſince, in the time he was Conſul, he often faced death in the midſt of *Rome*, to ſave his country from the danger of the *Catiline* conſpiracy.

Cicero, having diſcovered the conſpiracies of that bloody man, haſtened to inform the Senate thereof, when *Catiline* preſented himſelf to take his ſeat in quality of a Senator. It was then that *Cicero*, being no longer able to conceal his indignation, pronounced that harangue, which began with theſe thundering words: "How long, O "*Catiline*, wilt thou abuſe our patience? How "long are we to be the objects of thy fury? To "what lengths doſt thou intend to carry this cri- "minal boldneſs? Doſt thou not perceive, by "the guard that is kept night and day in the "city, by the fears of the people, and by the ex-

aſperated

" aſperated countenances of the Senators, that " all thy deſtructive deſigns are diſcovered? " Faithful eyes obſerve all thy ſteps. I have no- " tice of thy moſt ſecret councils, I am even " there, and penetrate thy very thoughts. Doſt " thou think that I am unacquainted with thy " meeting laſt night? Didſt thou not then be- " ſtow the ſeveral employments of the ſtate, and " divide all *Italy* among thy accomplices? Some " are to march into the country, under the com- " mand of *Manlius*, and the others to ſtay in " the city, to ſet fire to it in an hundred diffe- " rent parts. In the midſt of the tumult and " confuſion, which a general conflagration muſt " occaſion, the Conſul is to be aſſaſſinated in his " houſe, and the greateſt part of the Senators. " The Senate, that ſo illuſtrious and ſacred aſ- " ſembly, is informed of the moſt minute parti- " culars of the conſpiracy, and ſtill *Catiline* lives! " He is even among that body; he hears us; he " looks upon us as his victims. Whilſt we are " ſpeaking, he is marking out thoſe whom he " votes to a bloody ſacrifice; and yet we are ſo " patient, as to be more intent on preſerving our- " ſelves from his fury, than upon bringing him " to a juſt puniſhment for his crimes!"

Catiline, with the utmoſt rage quitted the Senate, proteſting that, ſince they carried matters to ſuch extremities, he at leaſt would not periſh alone, but bring down with him, in his fall, all thoſe who had meditated his ruin.

It

It may not be amiſs here, to ſay ſomething more of this conſpirator, whoſe name is condemned to eternal infamy, for having conſpired the ruin of his country. *Catiline* (ſays *Cicero*) ſhewed many ſymptoms of being poſſeſſed of the higheſt virtues; but his connections with bad men rendered them obſcure. At a time when his houſe was filled with ſuch objects only as could nouriſh debauchery, he was known to befriend honeſty, and promote labour and induſtry: never did monſter cheriſh ſo many oppoſite paſſions, which are naturally enemies to each other, as did this conſpirator. He had the art of endearing himſelf to the moſt honeſt citizens, at a time when he was forming connections with the moſt abandoned. No man ever ſhewed a greater reſpect for good principles, and yet no man's practices could be more deteſtable: unbounded in debauchery, patient and indefatigable in labour; fond of plunder, and yet liberal. Never did man make friends more eaſily, nor retain them more ſecurely: he divided with them every thing he poſſeſſed, his money, his credit, his miſtreſſes, and made no ſcruple of committing the moſt infamous actions to oblige thoſe, whoſe friendſhip was to be bought at ſuch a price. His behaviour in general was always ſuitable to his ſchemes, and he formed himſelf accordingly with wonderful dexterity: with men of a gloomy turn, the reſerved and ſullen air became him naturally; with thoſe of a lively diſpoſition, he appeared to be formed for gaity and pleaſure; he was ſerious

with

with the aged, briſk and lively with the young; with deſperate characters, audacious; and voluptuous with the libertine. This variety of diſpoſitions brought over to his intereſt, not only the moſt abandoned people of *Italy*, and in the provinces of the empire, but even many of the moſt honeſt men of the Republic, who were ſeduced by the appearance of his virtues.

Catiline, ſeeing himſelf reduced to indigence, into which his debaucheries had plunged him, being twice diſappointed in his attempts to be elected Conſul, and finding he had no other way to eſcape from a puniſhment of his crimes, than by his addreſs and bribery, determined, as the only reſource left him, to ſhake the very foundation of *Rome*. He then projected the deſtruction of that great city, and brought over to his deſigns, the ambitious, the diſcontented, and many factious young men of the firſt families, whom riot and exceſs had reduced to the laſt extremity.

Catiline was daring, vigilant, and active; but incapable of that profound diſſimulation, which was ſo neceſſary to cover his pernicious deſigns. When *Cicero*, in full Senate, had diſcovered all his infamous intentions, and called upon him to juſtify his conduct, that fierce *Roman* made ſo poor a defence, that it amounted to little leſs than a confeſſion of his guilt.

Having collected his diabolical companions together, he communicated to them his intentions, which they received with the higheſt applauſe,

and resolved to set fire to the city in a hundred different places at once; to cut the canals, which brought the water into the city, lest it should be used to extinguish the flames; to murder all the Senate, and spare only the children of *Pompey*, whom they might preserve as hostages against the power and resentment of that invincible conqueror.

Cicero, however, overthrew their designs and, by a decree of the Senate, executed all those conspirators they could seize. *Catiline* put himself at the head of those troops he had collected; and, after a bloody battle against the legions of the Republic, he fell covered with wounds, and thus ended his days in a manner by no means adequate to his crimes. His accomplices, says *Sallust*, perished in the ranks, in which their chief had placed them, as if they had possessed the very same spirit; and, thinking less of conquering than selling their lives dearly, they employed their last moments, according to the threats of *Catiline*, in mixing the publick calamity with their ruin. After they were entirely defeated, *Catiline* was found still breathing among a heap of dead bodies, when even, in his expiring moments, his countenance seemed to express that haughty and daring ferocity, which it wore during the latter part of his life.

Cicero having, by his vigilance and activity, disappointed the execution of the fatal designs of *Catiline*, received from his fellow citizens the highest acknowledgments of gratitude he could possibly wish for. *L. Gellius*, who had been Consul and Censor, publickly declared, that the state

ſtate owed to *Cicero* a Civic crown, for having ſaved his country from deſtruction. *Catulus* gave him the title of *Father of his Country*, in an aſſembly of the Senate; and *Cato* having honoured him with the ſame name, in his harangues in the Tribune, the people received his juſt tribute of applauſe with the loudeſt acclamations.

Notwithſtanding the general approbation of *Cicero's* conduct and virtues, the remains of *Catiline's* party, who in their hearts concealed their old principles, at laſt found means to cauſe *Cicero* to be ſent into baniſhment; and this was effected under a pretence, that, in condemning the conſpirators to death, he had not kept up to the formalities preſcribed by law; he was, however, ſoon recalled by the unanimous voice of the people; who in his return every where paid him public honours: every one was eager to ſee him, and to expreſs their joy on ſo happy occaſion. "*Cicero*, "(ſays *Plutarch*) ſpoke truth when he ſaid, that "the very foundations of *Rome* ſeemed to ſhake, "deſirous of embracing her preſerver."

After the aſſaſſination of *Cæſar*, the young *Octavius* and the furious *Anthony* having uſurped ſovereign authority, this laſt placed *Cicero* among the proſcribed. * When the ſoldiers arrived at *Cicero's* country houſe, where they were ſent by *Anthony* to aſſaſſinate him, they were informed, that he was then on his flight, ſeeking ſafety in ſome foreign land. They immediately purſued

* See this part of *Anthony's* conduct conſidered in page 234.

him, and ſoon came up with his litter in a thick wood. When *Cicero's* attendants perceived the aſſaſſins approaching, they ranged themſelves around their maſter, and reſolved to defend him at the hazard of their lives; but *Cicero* commanded them not to make the leaſt reſiſtance. He looked on his enemies with ſo much tranquility and repoſe, as in ſome meaſure diſconcerted their bloody purpoſes; then holding his head out of the litter, he ordered them to do what they were commanded, and finiſh their work; upon which they immediately cut off his head and his hands. Thus died, in the ſixty-third year of his age, this illuſtrious Orator, who had done ſo many important ſervices to the Republic, and had been the father and protector of his country. His death was truly lamented by every honeſt citizen, and *Auguſtus* is ſaid to have regretted it more than once.

CONCLUSION.

Youthful reader, before you lay this volume aſide, pauſe for a moment on the various characters you, have here read. Let them ſerve to remind you that riches, honours, and titles, (however they may be idolized by the vulgar and unthinking) unleſs they are accompanied with probity and virtue, are but mere phantoms, and worſe than the illuſion of dreams. The fire and vigour of youth may ſuffer you to be hurried away in the currents of cuſtom and prejudice; but the evening of life is the ſeaſon for reflection

reflection, when you will not, in thoſe cool moments of retirement, which Nature will then teach you to ſeek for, be able to forbear making ſome enquiry into your paſt conduct, that you may thereby judge what mankind will ſay of you when you ſhall be no more. Happy he, who in that period of life can ſurvey his paſt conduct, without having reaſon to wiſh to forget it; whoſe ſyſtem of action has been uniform, ſteady, and conſiſtent; who has neither been prompted by ambition, avarice, or revenge, to a perpetration of thoſe crimes, which are a diſgrace to human nature. To ſuch men, even the infirmities of age will loſe great part of their power to afflict; and in thoſe hours, which are free from pain, the ſoul will enjoy all thoſe pleaſures, which ariſe from ſociety, wiſdom, and experience. Laſtly, their expiring moments will be tranquil and peaceable, undiſturbed by the keen pangs of a guilty conſcience, or the horrors of remorſe.

THE END.

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